

*The American Neptune*

201

# THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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# THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

FEB 9 1954

PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM



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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF 24 AUGUST 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF 3 MARCH 1933 AND 2 JULY 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233)

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# THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

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*of Maritime History*

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SINCE World War II there has been a perfect spasm of ocean crossings in small boats of all descriptions. Most of them have been across the Atlantic and while none equal, it seems to me, the feat of the two Gloucester fishermen who rowed across, or some of those intrepid single-handed voyages of the past century, there have been some very notable exhibitions of seamanship. One, at least, the crossing in an army duck to the Azores, was arrant foolishness. Most, however, have been achieved by careful planning carried out with consummate skill.

It may not be common knowledge that many of these small boats which modern sailors have been sailing across the Atlantic are of less tonnage but sometimes nearly as long as the Pilgrims' Mayflower which Captain Christopher Jones successfully sailed in one of the most famous of all Atlantic crossings. And Jones did not have the advantage of radio or modern navigational aids and instruments.

The Pacific is bigger and has not seen as many deliberate ocean crossings as the Atlantic. Captain Bligh's famous small boat passage was phenomenal but unavoidable. A Chinese junk performed the feat some years ago and there are dim records of various long voyages by skillful Polynesians in their fabulous dugout canoes. Over a year ago Dr. Thomas Davis emulated some of his Polynesian ancestors by sailing his ketch Miru from New Zealand to Boston, only to have the sturdy little

craft demolished by a northeaster in Marblehead Harbor this past autumn. Kon-Tiki with its six intrepid Scandinavians drifted down the ocean currents and before the wind from South America to a little island in the Tuamotus to complete one of the great adventures of modern times.

In this number are linked two events separated by over three centuries in time and occurring on oceans separated by the North American continent. In the lead article, William Baker in the first of a series on Mayflower discusses the problem of her design, and in the second article John Gordon tells of the adventurous Pacific crossing of the ketch Wataridori. The interesting point is that Mayflower and Wataridori bracket all of American maritime history. Between those vessels and their voyages come all the triumphs and the tragedies; the West Indies, European, northwest coast, and China trades; the whalers and the clippers; the coasters and the river boats; everything from pinkys to paddle wheels; from 'Old Ironsides' to 'Big Mo'; and from packet ship Dreadnaught to liner United States. But more than that the voyages of Jones and Gordon, each in its own way symbolizes the stuff our maritime history is made of.

Maritime history, however, is a specialized subject even for a country with such a seafaring past as ours. But those with an enthusiasm for the subject are devoted. There are few formal courses given in maritime history in our colleges and universities. Therefore, when a new one is reported it is news. It has recently been announced that Dr. David B. Tyler of Wagner College, Staten Island, will be Visiting Professor of Maritime History at the University of Delaware for the years 1954 to 1956, and will do research on that subject as it pertains to the Delaware River basin. The NEPTUNE takes pleasure in congratulating both Professor Tyler and the University on this amiable arrangement which we feel will be mutually beneficial.

ERNEST S. DODGE

Peabody Museum of Salem



## *The Mayflower Problem*

BY WILLIAM A. BAKER

IN the maritime history of this country there have been many famous vessels, vessels whose names bring to mind tales of exploration, colonization, merchant ventures, and desperate sea battles. There are varying opinions as to which is the most important, but one that stands high on the list is a small English merchant ship about which little is known. This vessel brought to these shores in 1620 the little band of dissenters and those who, for various reasons, cast their lot with them, now known as the Pilgrims. From the usual listings in the catalogues of large libraries one might infer that there exists a wealth of data on this vessel; actually the only seemingly reliable information concerns the voyage, and even that is scant.

The generally accepted reliable source of information on the voyage is Bradford's *Of Plimoth Plantation*.<sup>1</sup> This work traces the developments leading to the chartering of two vessels by the group of dissenters living in Holland, the voyage to England, the difficulties encountered by the smaller vessel and the subsequent embarking of part of her complement on the larger, the voyage to North America, the arrival in this country, and the events leading to the final landing at Plymouth. Yet Bradford does not name or give the dimensions of either vessel. Although the voyage to North America was a decisive move for the colonists, it was but another in a long series of fishing and trading voyages for the seamen involved, not worthy of special note.

The two vessels were merely common traders, the larger chartered for one voyage while the smaller was to have remained with the colonists to be used in fishing and for trading along the coast. Bradford gives two items of information concerning the size of the larger vessel, one negative and one positive. The negative is that she was not as large as the group desired and the positive that her burden was about nine score;

<sup>1</sup> William Bradford, *Of Plimoth Plantation*, printed by order of the General Court (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1899). Hereafter called General Court Edition.

nine score what will be discussed later. It was not until 1623 that a reference is made in the records of the Colony to those 'which came first over in the May-Flower,' and thus her name is known. The name of the second, *Speedwell*, is first mentioned by Morton.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that *Mayflower* was a common name for merchant vessels in the early seventeenth century has made it difficult to uncover any definite material on this particular vessel. Because of references to leaky topsides and the cracking of a beam during a storm, it is generally assumed that the Pilgrims' *Mayflower* was an old vessel when she made her now famous voyage in 1620. Considering the resources of those involved, it is possible that the chartering of a newer vessel might have been beyond them. It seems unlikely at this late date that any definite information regarding her age will ever be found, but a few assumptions and deductions have led to some interesting data on a vessel that might have been THE *Mayflower*.

From Bradford's journal and a certified copy of William Mullins' will<sup>3</sup> it has been deduced that the master of *Mayflower* on her voyage to this country was one Christopher Jones. Through the records of the Port of London it has been possible to trace the voyages of a *Mayflower*, Christopher Jones, Master, from August 1609 to October 1621, during which period there is a gap that would allow for the round-trip voyage to North America.<sup>4</sup> From a series of neighborly relationships and ship commands too lengthy to review here, a shaky claim has been made that the Pilgrim *Mayflower* was one of the two *Mayflowers* in the English fleet that defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588.<sup>5</sup>

The last entry in the London Port Books relating to the Christopher Jones *Mayflower* is dated 31 October 1621 when she unloaded salt from Rochelle; the last record of her master is in the register of St. Mary's, Rotherhithe, for 1621/2: 'Christopher Jones, buried 5 March.' He left no will and his widow, Joan, was granted a commission of administration. In 1624, acting on a petition by Mrs. Jones and two of three other part owners that described *Mayflower* as 'in ruinis,' the High Court of Admiralty appointed four surveyors who valued the vessel at £128 8s 4d. Her ultimate fate is unknown. Claims have been made that a barn in Buckinghamshire was constructed from her timbers and that her masts served

<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel Morton, *New England's Memoriall* (Boston, 1669).

<sup>3</sup> William Mullins' will filed in Somerset House, London. File reference 68 Dale, ff. 68, 69.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Hutchinson, 'The *Mayflower*, Her Identity and Tonnage,' *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 70 (1916), 337-342.

<sup>5</sup> R. G. Marsden, 'The *Mayflower*, *The Mayflower Descendant*, XVIII (January 1916), 1-13.

as pillars for the Independent Chapel at Abingdon. Neither of these claims have been proved to the satisfaction of competent researchers.<sup>6</sup>

None of the investigators to date have found any record of *Mayflower's* dimensions. The only indications of her size are the aforementioned burden of nine score stated by Bradford and similar figures which have been assumed to apply to the same vessel as given by other writers. The smallest of these figures is that given in a letter from Robert Cushman to the group in Holland.<sup>7</sup> He refers to the chartering of a vessel of 60 lasts<sup>8</sup> but it is now assumed that he was reporting on earlier negotiations than those which resulted in the chartering of *Mayflower*. A published note by the Earl of Southampton<sup>9</sup> listing the vessels sent to America in 1620 by the Virginia Company mentions a *Mayflower* of 140 tons. Next in size is Captain John Smith's reference to a ship of 'a hundred and three score tunnes.'<sup>10</sup>

Bradford's figure of nine score is open to two interpretations. Since he was writing about a vessel chartered in England it would seem logical that he was referring to the English unit of measure—the ton. On the other hand, it has been suggested that his residence in Holland might have led to his use of the Dutch unit—the last. However, the consensus is that the nine score was the burden of *Mayflower* in English tons. While many have marvelled that so small a ship could have transported the 104 passengers plus crew, the records of similar voyages during the early seventeenth century indicate that she was not unduly crowded. For example, *Margaret and John* of 150 tons carried 85 passengers, and *Abigail*, 350 tons, had 230 passengers.

Such a variation in tonnage is slightly confusing, but tonnage always has been confusing and still is. A record in the London Port Books helps a little to clarify the problem, assuming, of course, that the Christopher Jones *Mayflower* is the one in which we are interested. On the 28th, 29th and 31st of January 1620, she unloaded 153 'tonnes of French wyne,' 4 'tonnes redd wyne' and 16 hogsheads of French wines. With 4 hogsheads equalling one ton this lading adds to 161 tons, which seems to check Captain John Smith's 160 tons but rules out the 140 in the Earl of Southampton's note.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, it seems reasonable to assume that a

<sup>6</sup> J. W. Horrocks, 'The Mayflower,' *The Mariners' Mirror*, VIII (1922). A lengthy article in several parts.

<sup>7</sup> Bradford, General Court Edition, p. 67.

<sup>8</sup> One last equalled about two English tons.

<sup>9</sup> Earl of Southampton, *A Note of Shipping Provided for Virginia, 1620* (Duke of Manchester's Papers, No. 121), discussed by Hutchinson, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

<sup>10</sup> Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*.

<sup>11</sup> A discussion of tonnage rules to follow will clarify this statement.



prudent skipper would not cram his vessel full for a midwinter voyage, hence Bradford's 180 is acceptable.

Since the burden is the only information regarding size, a study of the English tonnage rule and proportions of ships of the period will lead to a range of possible sizes if nothing more. The English tonnage rule of 1582, which was in use during the assumed life of the Pilgrims' *Mayflower*, was formulated by a Master Shipwright of the first Queen Elizabeth, one Mathew Baker. The purpose of the rule was to set up a formula based on the basic dimensions of a ship which would give a figure equal to the number of tons of wine that a ship was able to stow. One statement of the rule is as follows:<sup>12</sup>

By the proportion of breadth, depth and length of any ship to judge what burden she may be of in merchant's goods and how much deadweight of tons and tonnage. The *Ascension* of London being in breadth 24 feet, depth 12 feet from that breadth to the hold, and by the keel 54 feet in length doth carry in burden of merchant's goods (in pipes of oil or Bordeaux wine) 160 tons, but to accompt her in deadweight, or her ton and tonnage may be added one third part of the same burden which maketh her tonnage 213  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

Here we must resort to a bit of mathematics to boil the above down to a simple formula. To arrive at *Ascension's* burden of 160 tons the product of her three dimensions  $54 \times 24 \times 12$ , which in round numbers is 15,500, must be divided by 97. So, representing the length of keel, breadth and depth by the letters K, B and D, the formula for the burden becomes  $K \times B \times D / 97$ . But, Mathew Baker's own notebook indicates that the divisor should be 100, so we have  $K \times B \times D / 100$  as the official rule. The discrepancy of five tons between  $54 \times 24 \times 12 / 100$  and the recorded burden of 160 may be caused by the omission of odd inches when setting down the dimension of *Ascension* or it may be that she actually stowed 160 tons.

Now it is necessary to determine just how the three basic dimensions were measured. The length of the keel was the straight portion that would lie on keel blocks or touch on the ground measured from the afterside of the main sternpost to the intersection of the stem and the keel. Inasmuch as the lower stem of Elizabethan ships was usually an arc of a circle coming in tangent to the keel, the exact forward end of the keel would have been difficult to determine. The breadth was measured at the widest part of the hull to the inside of the planking, i.e., the maximum molded breadth, and the depth was measured from this point to

<sup>12</sup> M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy* (London and New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1896), p. 132.

the top of the keel. Because of the difficulties in reaching these points of measurement after a ship was completed, it became more or less common practice to measure the maximum breadth to the outside of the planking and the depth to the bottom of the keel.

A single thickness of planking on the breadth might not have made too much difference in calculating the burden, but if a ship proved to have insufficient stability, the shipwrights added one or more layers of planking on the outside in way of the waterline. This was termed furring or girdling, and during the period in question the English had the reputation of having more furred ships than any other nation. By measuring to the outside of this furring the value for the burden was such that a charterer was getting far less usable volume in a ship than the burden indicated. The situation became so bad, particularly with ships hired for royal service, that in 1627 a commission was appointed to investigate tonnage measurement and to devise a satisfactory rule. The commissioners were not equal to the task of accurately calculating the actual internal volume of a ship and, after considering the various methods used in taking the measurements, finally confirmed the use of the old rule of 1582 for ships built or hired for the King's service— $K \times B \times D / 100$ .<sup>13</sup>

It is interesting to note that the depth was not measured from a deck line as became the practice later. This is a result of the fact that during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries shipbuilders had no tradition of a continuous deck running fore and aft to hamper their arrangement of a ship. The hull was usually considered in three sections, bow, waist and stern, with the deck levels in each arranged as necessary to suit the space requirements.

As for the proportions of ships, the reign of Queen Elizabeth I saw the first ships being built specifically for merchant service. Merchant vessels were still armed for protection against pirates and others on the high seas but carried fewer cannon than similar sized vessels of the Royal Navy. Up to this time there had been little difference between vessels of the merchant and royal navies except that perhaps the men-of-war were constructed somewhat stronger. Royal vessels had been chartered by prominent merchants for certain voyages and ordinary merchant vessels were hired for royal service. Of the 197 English vessels that opposed the Spanish Armada, only 34 were royal ships, the remainder being merchant vessels of all sizes, the largest being 400 tons and the smallest 30 tons.

It is a common fallacy to consider ships of this period quite tubby. This comes from comparing published dimensions listing the keel length

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

of these ships with the length on the gun deck that was commonly used for later vessels. To obtain a better comparison the sum of the forward rake of the stem and the after rake of the sternpost, usually equal to the breadth, should be added to the keel length. Actually, naval vessels of a century later were fuller than those of the Elizabethan era because the increases in armament required more displacement in the ends.

William Borough, Comptroller of the Navy from 1589 to 1598, listed the following proportions for the vessels of his time:<sup>14</sup>

1. The shortest, broadest and deepest order—To have the length by the keel double the breadth amidships and the depth in hold half that breadth. This order is used in some merchant ships for most profit.
2. The mean and best proportion for shipping for merchandise likewise very serviceable for all purposes. Length of keel two or two and a quarter that of beam. Depth of hold eleven-twentyfourths that of beam.
3. The largest order for galleons or ships for the wars made for the most advantage of sailing. Length of keel three times the beam. Depth of hold two-fifths of beam.

Unfortunately, the only tables of dimensions for ships of the period are concerned largely with vessels of the Royal Navy, but by eliminating the larger vessels and known galleys from consideration the proportions of the remaining ships should be typical of the average merchantman-warship combination. Table I<sup>15</sup> lists the three basic dimensions, the length-breadth ratio, the depth-breadth ratio and the burden, calculated as  $K \times B \times D/100$ , for a number of moderate-sized ships of about the 180 tons burden of *Mayflower*.

TABLE I

Name	Date	Length of Keel—Ft.	Breadth Ft.	Depth Ft.	L/B	D/B	Burden
1. <i>Prudence</i>	ca. 1582	51.5	24	12	2.14	.500	148
2. <i>Ascension</i>	ca. 1582	54	24	12	2.25	.500	156
3. <i>Crane</i>	1590	60	26	13	2.31	.500	202
4. <i>Quittance</i>	1590	64	26	13	2.46	.500	217
5. <i>Answer</i>	1590	65	26	13	2.50	.500	219
6. <i>Advantage</i>	1590	60	24	12	2.50	.500	173
7. <i>Tremontana</i>	1586	60	22	10	2.73	.454	132
8. <i>Phoenix</i>	1612	70	24	11	2.92	.458	185
9. <i>Mary Rose</i>	1623	83	27	13	3.07	.482	291
10. <i>Adventure</i>	ca. 1627	63.6	26.2	11	2.42	.420	183

Since the statement of the 1582 tonnage rule used *Ascension* as an example it may safely be assumed that she was a merchant vessel—note that

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 124 and 132.



her proportions are nearly those of Borough's second order. Although *Crane* was built by one R. Chapman, her exact dimensions were used by Mathew Baker in demonstrating a problem of comparative burdens. *Adventure* was definitely a merchant vessel and she was used as an example for the 1627 tonnage survey previously mentioned.

Table II lists the dimensions and proportion of certain unnamed vessels taken from manuscript sources, three from Baker's notebook<sup>16</sup> and two from an anonymous treatise on shipbuilding compiled about 1600.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE II

Source	Length of Keel—Ft.	Breadth Ft.	Depth Ft.	L/B	B/D	Burden
1. M. Baker A	45	20	10	2.25	.500	90
2. M. Baker B	48	20	10	2.40	.500	96
3. M. Baker C	60	24	12	2.50	.500	173
4. Anon. MS. A	72	24	10	3.00	.417	173
5. Anon. MS. B	85	25	9	3.40	.360	191

From the context of the material in Mathew Baker's notebook it is assumed that the three vessels listed in Table II are merchantmen. Items 4 and 5 taken from the anonymous MS. are respectively a 'marchauntt man' and a 'man of warr.'

To give a range of possible sizes for *Mayflower*, Table III has been compiled for a ship of 180 tons burden based on the data given by Borough and the proportions of the vessels listed in Tables I and II, omitting those which would produce duplicate sizes.

TABLE III

Source	L/B	D/B	Length of Keel—Ft.	Breadth Ft.	Depth Ft.
Borough—1st order	2.00	.500	52.4	26.2	13.1
—2nd order	2.00	.458	54.0	27.0	12.4
—2nd order	2.25	.458	58.4	26.0	11.9
—3rd order	3.00	.400	74.1	24.7	9.9
<i>Prudence</i>	2.14	.500	54.8	25.6	12.8
<i>Ascension</i>	2.25	.500	56.7	25.2	12.6
<i>Crane</i>	2.31	.500	57.7	25.0	12.5
<i>Quittance</i>	2.46	.500	60.2	24.5	12.3
<i>Answer</i>	2.50	.500	60.8	24.3	12.2
<i>Tremontana</i>	2.73	.454	66.6	24.4	11.1

<sup>16</sup> Mathew Baker's Notebook, Pepys 2820, Magdalen College Library. By courtesy of the Cambridge University Library.

<sup>17</sup> Anonymous MS., *A Most Excellent Mannor for the Building of Shippes*, Scott Collection. Institution of Naval Architects, London. By courtesy of the Institution of Naval Architects, London.

## THE MAYFLOWER PROBLEM

<i>Phoenix</i>	2.92	.458	69.5	23.8	10.9
<i>Mary Rose</i>	3.07	.482	70.6	23.0	11.1
<i>Adventure</i>	2.42	.420	63.1	26.1	11.0
M. Baker—B	2.40	.500	59.2	24.7	12.4
Anon. MS.—A	3.00	.417	73.0	24.3	10.1
—B	3.40	.360	83.3	24.5	8.8

Thus we see that, considering the known merchant vessels, *Mayflower* could have had a keel length anywhere between 52.4 feet and 73.0 feet, a breadth from 24.3 feet to 27.0 feet and a depth of 10.1 feet to 13.1 feet. The reader may make his choice.

Turning now to a consideration of the appearance of *Mayflower*, one finds little agreement among marine archaeologists. A survey of the many etchings, models, paintings and what-have-you purporting to be this vessel reveals some startling representations—one etching depicts the square sails set on the after sides of the masts. Bradford is of little help; the only concrete item is the inference that she carried a main topsail—'. . . he caught hould of ye top-saile halliards, which hunge over board. . . .'<sup>18</sup>

A footnote in the Massachusetts Historical Society's edition of Bradford states:<sup>19</sup>

No description or representation of the *Mayflower* other than the brief references in Bradford exists. There is, however, no reason for believing that she differed materially from the merchant vessels of that day, or that an English vessel of her class differed materially from a merchant vessel of any other commercial people of Europe. The map makers of that period almost invariably drew upon some part of their plate one or more vessels, usually of the trading types with sails set, and threading their way among the monsters of the deep, often much larger than themselves. Whether the map was English, Dutch, or German, the vessels have the same general appearance.

While for the size of sketch that would appear on a map the above is generally true, that were certain national characteristics in proportions, form, and rig that were dictated by the coastal conditions of the various countries. For example, the shallow waters off the Netherlands led to the development of bluff, beamy vessels of restricted draft while the English harbors permitted the use of deeper, narrower ships. Details of decoration also varied considerably. Still, printed and manuscript sources indicate a considerable exchange of shipbuilding knowledge, and when considering miscellaneous items of equipment it does not seem unreasonable to use whatever data is available regardless of nationality. If a ship

<sup>18</sup> Bradford, General Court Edition, p. 92.

<sup>19</sup> William Bradford, *A History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), p. 148.

received damage at sea, the repairs undoubtedly would have been effected in whatever manner was standard in the next port visited; thus a vessel could have been equipped with items from many countries.

While certain technical material concerning ships of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is available, much of our knowledge of these vessels comes from old engravings, etchings and paintings. Such information is dubious at best as it is the result of two interpretations—the artist's interpretation of a ship and our interpretation of his efforts. Some representations seem quite reasonable—others the products of the weirdest possible nightmares. When one tries to find data on the appearance and construction details of any particular vessel the problem is well-nigh hopeless.

It would be foolhardy to try to discuss the multitude of artistic representations of *Mayflower*; the variations in size, shape and rig are amazing. Perhaps one should not complain for, had photography not been invented, the marine archaeologists of two hundred years hence might well wonder at the accuracy of the many pretty ship pictures labelled *Flying Cloud*, *Constitution*, etc. The majority of the artists should have followed the advice given to one modern artist who wanted to portray the little fleet of Columbus at sea—show *Santa Maria* in the distance to eliminate the need for many details and put the other two ships over the horizon. (The source of this story has slipped from memory—my apologies to its author for use without acknowledgment.)

Turning to more concrete representations of *Mayflower*, there are several model versions and one partial reconstruction. One of the best-known models is that in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., replicas of which may be seen in many places. Representing a vessel of 120 tons—evidently based on the data in Cushman's letter—it was designed and built by Captain Joseph W. Collins. His details were developed from material shown by Admiral Paris in his *Souvenirs de Marine*.

Using Bradford's 180 tons as a basis for size, the late Professor James R. Jack designed and built in about the year 1925 the model that is now in the Francis Russell Hart Nautical Museum at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1928, Professor F. Alexander Magoun published plans for a model<sup>20</sup> that is essentially Professor Jack's but with certain features modified by the work of Dr. Anderson noted below. The model in the new Science Museum in Boston appears to have been built from these plans.

<sup>20</sup> F. Alexander Magoun, *The Frigate Constitution and Other Historic Ships* (Salem: Marine Research Society, 1928).

At about the same time that Professor Jack was designing his model of *Mayflower* and using the 180 tons as a basis, Dr. R. C. Anderson and Mr. L. A. Pritchard were designing and building in England the model that is now on display in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts. A smaller model to the same design was constructed for the Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer produced a version of *Mayflower* in two sizes for the film *Plymouth Adventure*. A large sailing model was built for scenes showing the vessel at sea and a full size partial reconstruction for the deck shots. This version appears to have been largely based on Dr. Anderson's work.

Since Captain Collins' model in the Smithsonian Institution represents a vessel of but 120 tons it can be eliminated from further discussion except to note in passing certain features that have drawn comments from marine archaeologists. These features are enclosed quarter galleries, no bulwarks in the waist, pole masts, and long topsail yards.

When quarter galleries were fitted on small ships of the period, and judging from old prints that was seldom, they were nothing more than open balconies, if such a landlubberly term may be used. The majority of old prints show that vessels of the general size and type of *Mayflower* usually had fairly solid bulwarks, sometimes with a shallow open rail on top.

While older small vessels may have had lower and topmasts in one piece, the consensus seems to favor separate topmasts for *Mayflower*. Many otherwise acceptable models and artistic representations of ships of the period have been spoiled by having over-long topsail yards. The usual length was one-half the length of the lower yard, and one authority quotes the proper length as three-sevenths of the lower yard.

In a brochure describing various models in the Francis Russell Hart Nautical Museum, Professor Jack says of his model of *Mayflower*:<sup>21</sup>

Many attempts have been made to produce models of the type and time of the *Mayflower* and of these the most reliable are a half-inch scale model . . . and a quarter-inch scale model . . . , both of which have been built under the direction of Mr. R. C. Anderson.

The Institute's model was made a little earlier than these and therefore did not have the advantage of Mr. Anderson's painstaking research, although the sail plan and rigging correspond fairly closely.

The dimensions as scaled from the plans in Professor Magoun's book are: length of keel 72 feet, breadth 26 feet and depth 9 feet 6 inches.

<sup>21</sup> James R. Jack, *Some Historic Ships and Their Models* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1941), p. 27.

As for Dr. Anderson's model, it is best to use his own words as published in the *Mariners' Mirror* for 1926:<sup>22</sup>

... When I was asked to prepare a design for a model of the *Mayflower* I was obliged to say that to the best of my knowledge such a thing is impossible, though I could produce a model of a ship of about the right size and type. This I hope I have managed to do, but it must be clearly understood that the model makes no claim to be more than it is called on its label, an 'English merchantman of the size and date of the *Mayflower*.'

For dimensions the *Adventure* of Ipswich was a perfect godsend. She was used in 1627 to illustrate the results of various methods of tonnage measurement. ... On 'Mr. Baker's Old Way' she was 182 tons, while her dimensions were: Length of keel 63 feet, 6 inches, greatest breadth within the plank 26 feet, 2 inches, depth from the breadth to the top of the keel 11 feet. Avoiding odd inches I made the ship 64 feet by 26 feet by 11 feet, and by giving her a total rake forward and aft of the same amount as her beam, 26 feet, I got a nice round number of 90 feet for her length from stem to sternpost. It is possible that the 180 tons of the *Mayflower* was a 'tons and tonnage' figure; in that case her 'burthen' would have been 25 per cent. less, or 135, and her dimensions would have been about 58 feet by 23½ feet by 10 feet. I think it is more probable that the larger figures are nearer the mark; they give a 'burthen' of 183 tons and a 'tons and tonnage' of 244.

As to rig; there was little doubt that it should be the ordinary three-masted rig of the time. The only question was whether to give her such recent additions as a square mizzen topsail and a spritsail topsail. On the whole it seemed probable that a small and unimportant merchantman would not have had these extra sails. We therefore gave her spritsail, foresail and foretopsail, mainsail and main topsail, and lateen mizzen. ...

In a brochure published in connection with the film *Plymouth Adventure*, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer summed up the model question and vaguely described their own version in the following words:

Thus all the 'authentic' models of the *Mayflower* to be found in museums and private collections—and there are scores of them throughout the United States—represent little more than the model builder's guess, informed or uninformed and made many generations later, about how the ship looked. ...

Leading historians and marine architects are generally agreed that the *Mayflower* had an over-all length of 90 feet and a broad 24-foot beam, was of approximately 180 tons and probably lateen-rigged on her mizzenmast, being otherwise square-rigged. ...

That was the ship the art department designed—'a chunky little tramp ship of her day,' as she was fondly termed—unquestionably the closest thing to the real *Mayflower* ever built.

Thus, briefly, is the story of *Mayflower*, built from meager knowledge by a few assumptions and much research, and some conjectures and opin-

<sup>22</sup> R. C. Anderson, 'A "Mayflower" Model,' *The Mariners' Mirror*, XII (1926), 260-262.



ions as to her size and appearance. This material was assembled for a background in connection with the preparation of drawings for a proposed replica of an early seventeenth-century English merchant vessel of her size and type. This proposed replica is part of the program of Plimoth Plantation, Incorporated, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, a non-profit, educational foundation that was organized to preserve and present the heritage of the Pilgrims and which now has two completed projects on display in Plymouth. The first of these, appropriately known as the 'First House,' was built in 1948 and represents the type of house erected by the Pilgrims during their early years in this country. The second project was opened to the public in June 1953 and represents the combined fort and meetinghouse that was erected in 1622.

After studying this background, it is apparent that many researchers have put much time and effort on the problems of the size and appearance of *Mayflower*. The variety of their results makes it impossible to say this or that is right and all else wrong. A new version will owe much to these people and naturally will be influenced by their work.

The primary question to be settled in drawing up plans for the proposed replica is that of dimensions. Using Bradford's tonnage of 180, there is the range shown in Table III. It is tempting to follow Dr. Anderson and accept those of *Adventure* of Ipswich, but two statements made in connection with the tonnage investigation of 1627 raise some doubts as to the reasonableness of such action.

In the body of the tonnage report is the following statement of its purpose: '... to measure the *Adventure* of Ipswich, the greatest bilged ship in the river, and from her dimensions to frame a rule that in our best judgments might be indifferently applicable to all kinds of frames.'<sup>23</sup> The masters of Trinity House made the following comment: 'The old rule is less true for lately built ships, which have great floors, but true for old ships with small floors.'<sup>24</sup> From these two statements it can be assumed that the reason for the use of *Adventure* as an example was that she was a new and an unusual ship. Hence, the use of her proportions to represent a merchant ship of some twenty or more years earlier is questionable.

If *Mayflower*, Christopher Jones, Master, of the London Port Books is accepted as the Pilgrims' *Mayflower*, it is known that she was afloat in 1609. A few reasonable assumptions push this date back to February 1606. If she were new at that time, her probable trade and builder would

<sup>23</sup> M. Oppenheim, op. cit., p. 267.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

have to be considered when discussing proportions—if old, perhaps one of the anti-Armada fleet, there is no way of knowing how far back proportions should be investigated. A common merchant vessel for the lumber and wine trades, in both of which the Christopher Jones *Mayflower* was employed from time to time, would have required as much stowage space as possible. This points toward short length and relatively large breadth and depth for a given tonnage as the internal structure occupies a smaller percentage of the usable space as compared with a longer, narrower, and shallower vessel.

Changes in the proportions and appearance of ships are usually noted first in the larger, more important vessels; in the early seventeenth century these would have been the royal ships. *Mayflower's* builder would probably have been working in a small yard, building to conservative proportions that had proved successful over a period of years. Assuming *Mayflower* to have been built around the turn of the century, the general increase in the length/breadth ratio of the royal ships might have led him to improve somewhat on Borough's ratios of 2 to 2.25 for merchant ships.

The fact that the dimensions of *Crane*, built by R. Chapman in 1590, are duplicated by an example in Mathew Baker's notebook is an indication that at least two builders of the period were thinking along the same lines. Both of these men built royal ships, and it is probable that their examples would be followed by the common builders within a decade. *Crane's* burden of 202 indicates that she was of the same general size as *Mayflower*, hence it has been concluded that her proportions are more suitable than those of *Adventure* for a replica of an English merchant vessel of the early seventeenth century.

*Crane's* proportions—length/breadth ratio of 2.31 with a depth equal to half the breadth—indicate a conservative design of good capacity yet an improvement on Borough. For the proposed replica, eliminating odd inches, the dimensions will be as follows: length of keel 58 feet, breadth 25 feet, and depth 12 feet 6 inches which, by the tonnage rule of 1582, give a burden of 181.

*William A. Baker, a naval architect, is a frequent contributor to the NEPTUNE. This is the first of several articles by Mr. Baker that will describe the lines, arrangements, structure, and rig of the proposed replica of Mayflower.*



## *Five Thousand Miles in Fifty-Footer*

BY JOHN GORDON

Sailing Master of *Wataridori*

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Oh, a sailor hasn't much to brag—  
An oilskin suit and a dunnage bag.  
But, howsoever humble be he,  
By the Living God, he has the sea!

*A Sailor's Life, Harry Kemp*

SINCE the time of Aeneas, all seamen have been inclined to inject a bit of quiet boasting into tales of their adventures. A note of pride, pardonable I hope, thus intrudes into my account of a non-stop voyage from Japan to San Francisco in a little ketch. We sailed almost five thousand miles—across more than ninety-seven degrees of longitude—through the stormy cold and fogs of the lonely North Pacific. The forty-eight-day passage successfully completed was one of the longest ever logged by a small sailing vessel.

While stationed in Tokyo with the United States Navy, I heard of a new ketch down at a boatyard near the base at Yokosuka. On one of my infrequent days off I ambled into the yard last April [1952] and saw *Wataridori* for the first time. The trim and sturdy ketch was obviously built for real blue-water work. She is just under 50 feet in overall length with no more than 40 feet on the water line. She has a comfortable beam of 16 feet and adequate draft for ocean sailing—about 7½ feet. Her 23 tons weight is due to the flawless teak, mahogany, blackwood, and ten other kinds of oriental wood in her hull, as well as the weight of a heavy Diesel engine. Aloft, *Wataridori* was fitted with a hollow mainmast and excellent stainless-steel rigging. Her running rigging consisted of manila and easily handled rayon. Two complete suits of sails were supplemented with a beautiful English-made storm trysail and three sails of pure silk. Happily, her rig had been changed from gaff rig to Marconi, which made for greater ease and safety under sea conditions.



Little did I realize when I first examined *Wataridori* that I would be one of the crew fortunate to sail her completely across the broad Pacific. At this point, the gallant lady deserves an explanation of her name. The Japanese word means *Bird of Passage*, but the name has a deeper connotation since it actually implies the leading bird in a flight of birds. She was destined truly to become a leader.

Soon thereafter I met George Thomas Folster, the owner, in Tokyo. George is a hearty, cheery fellow who knows how to organize affairs as well as being able to radiate confidence. We enjoyed a couple of sessions around Tokyo bars shooting the breeze about the art of sailing. We even discussed the seaman's dream—a transpacific passage. I liked the cut of George's jib; apparently he liked mine because one evening he put out his hand and invited me to be a shipmate. Although George is a busy executive with the National Broadcasting Company, he found time amid the heavy pressure of broadcasting news of the Korean war to supervise the splendid outfitting of *Wataridori*. We even found time for two brief days to shake down the little lady by short practice sails in the Tokyo Bay area.

Bryan W. Stevens, a brother Naval Reserve officer, came along as navigator. 'Steve' is one of the ablest small-boat navigators I have ever known. He and I had to obtain release to inactive duty in Japan in order to make the voyage. Some hurried messages were exchanged with Washington. Fortunately, both the admirals in Tokyo and the inscrutable brass machinery in the Bureau of Naval Personnel still sympathize with crazy romanticists. Approval arrived for release to inactive duty 'beyond the continental limits of the United States.'

Three Japanese lads made up the remainder of the crew. They were as follows: Jun Kosugi, the youngest member of the crew; Yoshio Tanaka, a newcomer to seafaring, but already familiar with radio and electricity; Moriharu Shizume, a university graduate and the ablest seaman among the three enthusiastic young Japanese.

On 1 June, our day of departure, we rowed quietly across the cove at Aburatsubo and boarded *Wataridori* in an early morning calm. The remote, hidden harbor (actually only a few miles from thriving Yokohama and Yokosuka) breathes the atmosphere of an ancient woodcut of legendary Japan. The cove has a hidden entrance and a double dog-leg channel, almost undetectable from the sea. A placid, circular inner pool is surrounded by steep hills and cliffs covered with the toy-like Japanese evergreens. The romantic illusion is somewhat dispelled, however, when

one knows that the spot was used as the training site for Japanese midget submarine crews during the last war.

After the last well-wisher presented us with a pair of women's silk stockings to serve as wind telltales in the rigging, we cleared ship of all visitors and made ready to sail. As we heaved up our anchor, the rocky shores were covered with inquisitive Japanese and American visitors. Incredibly, it struck me that the rapid twitching—not fluttering—of those characteristic little flags alone distinguished the scene from the miniature unreality of a Japanese dwarf garden.

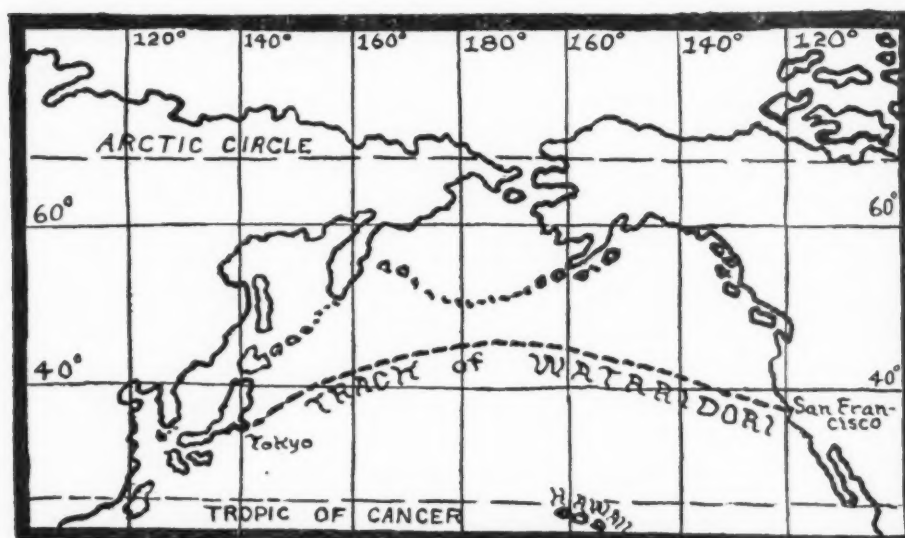


Chart of the Voyage of *Wataridori*, 1 June to 17 July 1952  
Aburatsubo, Japan, to San Francisco

We were under way. People on nearby boats and upon the shore shouted farewell and twitched their flags more vigorously as we slowly ran under power out through the tortuous channel. When the last escorting boat turned back we made sail and were alone at sea.

We planned to follow the route plied long ago by the few clipper ships that elected to return eastward to the United States during the late 1840's and 1850's. This route, the best recommended sailing track, is slightly below the true great circle course to San Francisco. [See the accompanying chart.] We could take advantage of the westerly winds and the Japan Current by following this path. However, it entailed trending far to the



*Ketch Wataridori*



George T. Folster, the skipper, at the helm



Stevens heaving on the jib downhaul



Proceeding under power in Tokyo Bay. The three Americans making sail

north and at the top of our arc we could expect much rain, fog, drizzle, and occasional gales and storms even in June and July.

Henceforth, I must quote frequently from a small journal that I kept during the entire voyage. The elliptical quality of my entries is typical of those found in notes scribbled during busy days at sea. Exhaustion at the end of long watches and battering by storms are not conducive to literary style.

'Uneventful sailing to dusk. Watched the island of *O Shima* disappear on starboard and saw last of Japanese mainland on port quarter at sunset.' That short entry poorly portrays the state of mind of six silent men who knew that no land would be sighted again until, at the very least, 4,536 miles were reeled off on our taffrail log. Those dark, rocky shores of Japan looked pretty to all of us—even though only three could call them home.

Bad luck hit us at the outset. A severe northerly gale struck us late on 2 June. All hands were still seasick and we had as yet little experience as an integrated crew. The skipper wisely decided to run under power ahead of the gale.

After dousing all sail, we ran ahead of the storm for fourteen hours. During the blow, we suffered some severe damage. The main radio antenna, rigged between the tips of the masts, parted. We also lost the use of our engine for turning the screw. (The seas ran very steep and as we crossed the crests our racing propeller finally burned out the clutch.) Thereafter, the dependable Diesel was usable only for pumping and generating power for lights and radio. Another item of damage, undetected at the time, was broaching of our deck fresh-water tank. We had shipped a spare Navy aircraft wing tank which held 110 gallons of water to eke out the 300 gallons below. The loss of this water was apparent by 5 June. Although we knew water rations would be even more stringent, we made quite a ceremony of christening the useless tank the 'Green Monster,' and gave it the deep six after chopping holes in its now dehydrated metal skin.

The incessant battle to combat chafe of rigging had started in earnest. We made bagywrinkle out of old rope and festooned the ship with the ugly stuff. Soon our neat rigging resembled vegetation covered with Spanish moss. Minor parts—cotter pins, mizzen bridle, etc.—required increasing maintenance. On 7 June we faced our first serious repair job. The mizzen gooseneck fitting had failed. Steve and I spent an entire morning filing bronze rivets by hand to replace the *copper* ones originally



installed. After cold-forging the necessary parts, two grimy, sea-going blacksmiths reassembled the fitting.

On the same day, we sighted the first of only three vessels visually sighted and spoken during the entire voyage. Our radio transmitter was still ineffective so we requested the crew of the Japanese fishing vessel to relay a message for us. The faces of inquisitive Japanese fishermen, swarming on the decks of the dingy craft, were the last ones we would see until we reached America.

The pattern of rain, fog, drizzle, and cold, always prevalent in the North Pacific, had settled upon us. We enjoyed but *twelve* days of sunshine out of the total of forty-eight spent at sea. Temperatures dropped as low as forty degrees.

On 11 June, we noticed many porpoises (or porpi, if you prefer that plural). During the afternoon the first of our frisky whale friends played around our stern for some minutes. We sighted five of the huge mammals before we made port.

Comparative calm on the next day permitted the first inspection trip aloft. Oddly, none of the Japanese boys relished a ride in the bos'n's chair, so all work aloft was done by the Americans. It must be confessed that working in the rigging is not pleasant at sea, especially when it is realized that *Wataridori's* mainmast is 55 feet high—higher than the ship is long.

The large brown sea birds with ridiculous hooked bills, black-footed albatrosses, destined to accompany us almost continually, were happy to paddle along with us during calms. By 12 June we made friends with several. They gobbled bacon and butter, but disdainfully rejected breadstuffs.

A suitable day, 15 June, arrived for us to experiment with our twin staysails. These are unusual dual sails, rigged to booms, which are fastened to twin stays running parallel to the main forestay. They are ideal for use with steady following winds. The rig is unusual; it has been used only a few times at sea by yachtsmen. Our twins were magnificent creations of pure silk. Unfortunately, failure of a fitting ended experimentation with the twins.

Flying fish and Portuguese men-o'-war were sighted frequently in this stretch of the ocean. Thousands of the little sailing animals, resembling fleets of tiny fishing boats, beat along together. I have never been able to decide whether the Portuguese men-o'-war sail on the port or starboard tack! Since we sailed almost the entire voyage on the starboard tack, I assume the little jellyfish did likewise!

A second storm hit us on 16 June. Severe winds lasted for twenty hours, but we had the comfort of some sunlight near the end. The only resultant damage consisted of a wrenched staysail track and the discovery that a jib sheet had gone adrift over the side, fouling our useless propeller. Repairs effected, we tried again to use our radio transmitter without success. Efforts to jury rig other antennas failed, so we discarded the radio for a time.

Uneventful sailing was enjoyed until 19 June when another severe gale struck. By this time we were far northward in the stormy area south of the Aleutian Islands. At the uppermost point of our curving track, we reached  $44^{\circ} 35'$  north latitude. This third storm caused more damage: the starboard running light was smashed; one 'head' was out of commission; and some small gear was lost overboard.

I jotted the following entry on 20 June: 'We will cross  $180^{\circ}$  longitude this evening—and we have a good wind, a dry bunk, and an evening rainbow to cheer us into the western hemisphere.' The International Date Line was now behind.

That auspicious entrance into the western hemisphere was only a polite gesture by nature. On the second 20 June (repeated because of crossing the date line), we caught the worst storm I have ever experienced in a small boat. The barometer fell ominously all day. Around dusk the sky cleared in that eerie fashion caused only by a 'gale bright.' Then we knew we were in for something terrific. The wind slowly increased until it hummed—screamed—screeched through our upper rigging. That sound can never be properly described in English. It is known and hated by every seaman who has heard it. It was made worse by the peculiar sighing-hissing noise heard as the crests of seas sucked past. Every growing sea had its own personality—and those frightening personalities weren't friendly to human life.

The glass kept dropping; the wind kept increasing; the seas were now beginning to break at the crests. At the start, we looked out over miles of tortured seas as we reached the crests, but we soon gave that up and concentrated on each living enemy as we climbed it. You must think only in terms of the next sea and how to meet it.

As the wind reached Force 10, Beaufort Scale (we judged it to be about 65-68 miles per hour), the little ketch staggered on under nothing but a storm trysail with its clew bolted to the deck. That beautiful English-made sail of heavy 14-ounce canvas held, thank God. If it had blown out, we would have been utterly helpless. At the point when the barometer

was at its lowest, I happened to be at the wheel. We took two or three seas aboard during that watch. Green water—not spray—banged onto the deck and filled the cockpit three times. Cross seas were the worst; often they could not be avoided. If they caught us at the crests we could do nothing except catch the sudden slam of tons of water. George, Steve, and I each stood a full four-hour watch at the helm without removing our hands once from the spokes of the wheel entrusted to us during the time the others tried to sleep below. Every man needed what rest he could snatch.

That great storm lasted almost two days. As it moderated, we turned to the inevitable work of repair. We found that a bronze turnbuckle as big as a man's forearm had sheared as if it were no more than a woman's hairpin. A new manila maintopping lift in place of a frayed wire one, a few stitches in sail seams, some new leather chafing gear in worn places, and we were as good as new. Payment for these tasks was the happy announcement from the navigator that we had passed the halfway point.

During a period of ensuing calms, our pesky radio contacted Ocean Station Vessel 'Queen.' 'Queen' is the most advanced weather outpost station maintained by the United States. On 25 June we were able to raise her on our weak radio. The CW key radio worked for once and when we switched to voice radio we were talking to the outside world for the first time since the contact with the Japanese ship so long ago. 'Queen,' at that time the U.S.C.G. *Iroquois*, was never actually sighted, but she will always be one of our favorite ships. We probably were within fifty miles of her cheerful location.

From now on the voyage grew easier. The threat of storms became remote and all hands began to feel that we were only tumbling home. We began to watch each day's total run. Our best was 168 miles, excellent for a boat designed for cruising rather than racing. The growing tedium was relieved by excellent food and the ceaseless changing of watches. We maintained the same watch system throughout the whole voyage: George and Jun stood the first; Steve and Tanaka, the second; Mori and I, the last. It worked well once the routine was established. Food, carefully planned and stowed exactly according to an index book, was ample and excellent. George planned enough for one hundred days at sea. We actually had fresh food for the first eighteen days out; thereafter we were naturally doomed to canned goods, albeit of excellent variety. Incidentally, the skipper was a fine cook.



An event during a calm on 27 June merits relating. While George was aloft on the bos'n's chair fixing a mizzen shroud, we had visitors. Two curious fur seals swam up to supervise the repair job. They played around the becalmed boat and displayed their approval of our efforts. One was more inquisitive than his fellow; he came alongside and clapped his flippers and rolled around like an old circus trouper. Our little friends departed abruptly, however, at dusk when a large 12-foot shark arrived to join the party.

On 1 July we sighted the first lights of any vessel sighted since leaving the Japanese waters. The momentary contact was useless since the unidentified ship disregarded our blinker lights and went on her merry way. Better luck prevailed in the early morning of 5 July when we sighted the lights of another ship. She closed with us after exchanges of blinker messages and identified herself as *Transoceanic*. Aware of our limited radio range, she kindly relayed messages for us and departed westward after wishing us good luck.

During light airs on 7 July, I noted another unusual incident involving animal life. About two score of the large sea birds already mentioned were idling in the water near us. 'A shark lazily swam up and nosed around. Contrary to my expectations, the birds were not perturbed. As he made several halfhearted passes at them, they simply paddled away and disdainfully avoided him without resorting to flight. In fact, one bird actually put feet on the shark and walked on him!'

Mean, choppy seas caused serious damage on 9 July. Shortly after dawn, I learned that the bobstay had carried away. This was extremely serious; failure to repair it might entail the loss of the mainmast. The removal of old parts and securing of a new stay was performed splendidly by Steve. Our first attempt to fix the stay from one of our rubber rafts was abandoned as too dangerous when we saw the thrashing bowsprit and martingale endangering the raft and men aboard it. So, Steve went over the bow in a rope sling and completed the required work at the cut-water near the water line. Rough and cold water required two separate dunkings for lanky Steve. Everyone relaxed after that job was done.

Six weeks of monotonous sea routine provoked the following entry in my journal on 10 July: 'Today sighted another large Japanese glass fish-net float. Also sighted an orange peel and a barnacle-coated bottle. Oh, for San Francisco and a full bottle for a barnacle-encrusted Gordon!!' The tedium was relieved somewhat by work on a long home-coming pennant. It was almost fifty feet long; one foot for every day at sea. This

work of art required only many stitches and the loss of two bed sheets.

Our final encounter with vessels at sea happened on 12 July when we sighted a westbound freighter. A request for message relays was politely refused because she was under radio silence. We assumed that she was probably Korea bound with munitions. 'Thank you' and 'Good sailing' blinked between us as she disappeared toward the distant Orient.

Early on the morning of 13 July we effected our first radio telephone contact with the United States. An incredulous marine telephone operator in Seattle asked for a repeat of our first message. Requesting all others to clear the channel, she cried, 'I think I have an aircraft coming in!' We finally convinced her that we were actually forty-four days at sea out of Japan rather than four days by air! Strangely, we could reach Seattle rather than San Francisco, which was closer to us. Apparently, our forward shrouds and stays made the radio gear directional, although the installation was supposedly non-directional.

Disaster loomed when almost into port. At the midnight change of the watch on the morning of 15 July, I was aroused by the excited skipper. He had discovered water almost up to floor boards of engine and main hatch spaces. He shouted, 'We're making water faster than we can pump it!' The engine pump was out of order, so we turned to and pumped by hand steadily for several hours until the ship was staunch. Thereafter, we pumped hourly until we entered San Francisco Bay.

Early on 15 July we had our first visitor, a spent land bird, landing on our port rail. The drab little sparrow seemed lovelier than the most brilliant bird alive. He refused crumbled sea biscuit tossed on the deck and flew on after his welcome greeting to the tired *Bird of Passage*.

We expected a landfall during the still evening of 16 July. We knew the coastline loomed near but that everlasting fog had settled down again on our sea-worn ketch. Eager eyes suddenly sighted the powerful flash of Pt. Arena lighthouse; soon followed the glitter of Pt. Reyes light through the damp fog. Throaty bass foghorns filled the remainder of that last night at sea.

Day broke calm but clear. There at last stood the nude, steep shores of old California. A clanging sea buoy on Duxbury Reef increased our impatience, but no breeze obliged us. By mid-afternoon, the skipper, swallowing his pride, accepted a tow south to San Francisco. Scarcely eight miles separated us from the Golden Gate, but it was as invisible to us as to Sir Francis Drake three centuries earlier when he narrowly missed discovering the narrow gateway. Our landfall was almost the same

reached by immortal Drake; now I can understand why he never saw the great bay.

Swiftly we rounded the last point. The tall red towers of stately Golden Gate Bridge hove into view; the sparkling bay lay dead ahead. Nature kindly crowned the voyage with a last spanking breeze that allowed us to sail proudly under the bridge. The towing hawser parted as the wind sprang up; seemingly, *Wataridori* refused to enter port ignobly after such a great passage.

Everything happened unbelievably fast at the end. We reached the St. Francis Yacht Anchorage; snapped our worn steering cable as the helm went over for the last time; doused all sail; dropped anchor. Several boats rushed down to our position and we received the boarding of busy port officials with an ease and efficiency that surprised even us. Awkward were our poses for noisy photographers, nevertheless. A helpful Coast Guard picket boat shoved us into the pierside slip assigned us. Many friendly hands ashore quickly secured our lines and the great adventure was over. Firm handclasps felt fine; American soil underfoot felt even better.

In summation, our difficult voyage merits remark not alone because of great distances covered. We actually had completed the crossing almost as rapidly as most of the famous clipper ships of yore. Carl Cutler, the noted expert on clippers, recently wrote the following about comparable voyages:

Maury was of the opinion that in time clipper ships could be depended on to make the run from San Francisco to Hong Kong, for example, in an average of 52 days. As a matter of fact, the average remained nearer 60 days down to the end of sail, and passages of 40 days were extremely rare. Masters of the fastest clippers were well satisfied with 45 days.<sup>1</sup>

Our pride in a passage of forty-eight days is redoubled when we realize we were in a tiny, 23-ton, 50-foot ketch. Besides, weather had permitted only about eighteen accurate fixes by celestial observations. A redoubtable old Japanese admiral had assured us before the start that we could not equal the fifty-five days he had spent years ago on the same crossing in a full-rigged Japanese training ship!

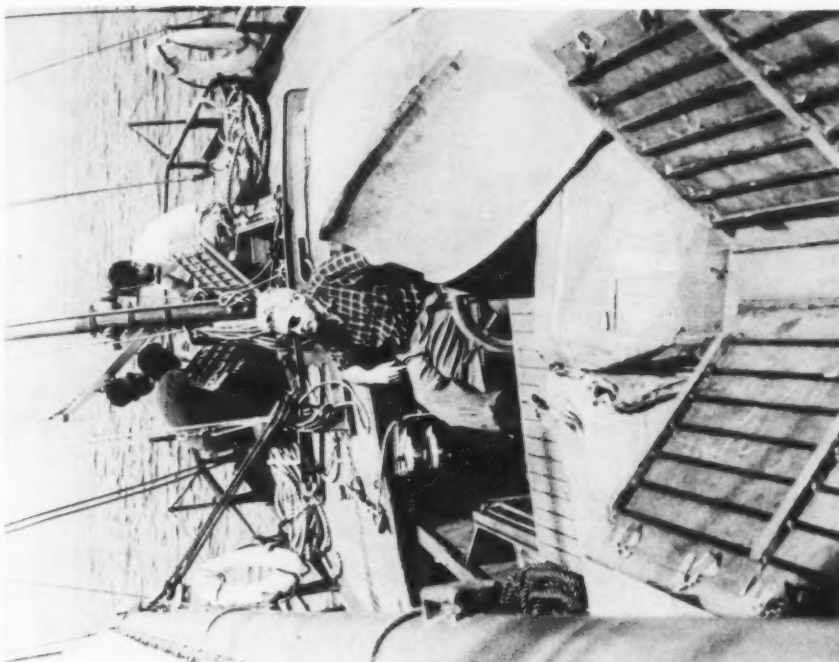
The truly great part of our exploit lies in an intangible realm—the

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Cutler, *Five Hundred Sailing Records of American Built Ships* (Mystic, 1952), p. 58. Some comparative distances of well-known small boat passages are: *Wataridori*, 5,000 miles; *Kon Tiki* (raft), 4,300 miles; Captain Bligh in the launch of *Bounty*, 3,618 miles; Dr. Thomas Davis in the recent voyage from New Zealand made longer *total* distance across the Pacific, but he stopped at Rapa Island, so no *one leg* of his voyage was over 3,300 or 3,400 miles.

realm of human understanding and friendship. Shared discomforts and dangers endured in common in the little vessel probably accomplished more for real Japanese-American friendship than many empty gestures between pompous diplomats.

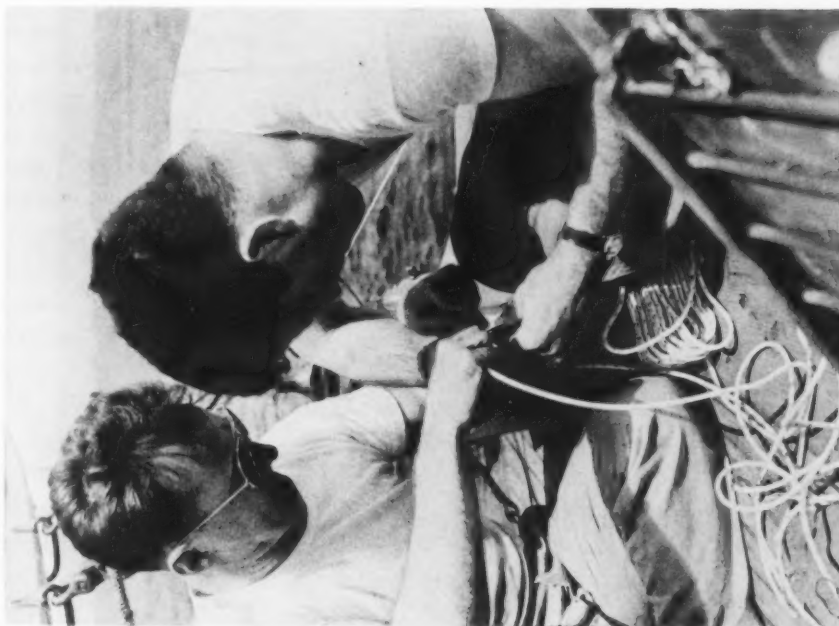
Knowing a vast ocean may be valuable; making new and knowing true friends is far more valuable. We now knew the ship and the sea; we now know and respect each other. Finally, we know more about ourselves, and each man gained a quiet assurance concerning his skills and ability to meet new adventures in life.

*John Gordon is a Philadelphian, which he defines as differing from a Bostonian only in that 'a Philadelphian is a relaxed Bostonian!' He received his A.B. from William and Mary College in 1948 and his A.M. from Harvard the following year. He is now finishing his dissertation for a Ph.D. at Harvard in American History. He is a naval veteran of World War II and Korea and at present holds the rank of Lieutenant (j.g.) in the U.S.N.R. Mr. Gordon has engaged in extensive maritime historical research and has sailed the eastern waters of the United States from Massachusetts to Cape Hatteras.*



Looking aft on *Wataridori*. Notice steel plates under the skylight gratings. The dinghy was not taken on the voyage

*Official U. S. Navy photograph*



Gordon and Stevens rigging taffrail log. Only one spinner was lost during the entire voyage





Folster and Stevens stowing supplies below deck. Supplies for one hundred days were stowed; all labels were removed from cans and painted code letters indicating the contents substituted



Jun Kosugi, sailor, and Moriharu Shizume, boatswain, stowing signal flags

*Official U. S. Navy photograph*



## *The Ezra Westons, Shipbuilders of Duxbury*

BY GERSHOM BRADFORD

ONLY a few years after the Pilgrims had established themselves at Plymouth, certain of the leaders began to move across the bay to Duxbury—Standish, Brewster and the Aldens being among them. These, and others who followed, were the forebears of the later population of the town, augmented by new arrivals from England. For about one hundred and thirty years this industrious settlement faced the hard task of wresting a living from a sandy soil and from the waters of the sea.

Even as late as the 1760's the town was poor, living on a subsistence level. Highways had been laid out but were merely horse trails, for there was not a four-wheeled vehicle, only one chaise to use them. Transportation was by horseback, the wife riding on a pillion. Only one house had the semblance of a carpet; their furnishings were crude, being locally made. In the fall when beef cattle were killed, they enjoyed fresh meat for a time; but this luxury was tempered by a thrifty custom; after boiling the meat, the broth was mixed with Indian meal. This porridge became the first course of the dinner. In this way the edge of the family's appetite was dulled, thus conserving the meat.<sup>1</sup> The people raised vegetables and caught fish, largely for their own use; built small vessels in which to catch the fish and to make short coastal voyages. The system offered little hope of enrichment from their toil, none for the refinements of life, for which they were mentally prepared; they could have used prosperity with prudence and dignity—and they later did.

At this time, the 1760's, there were four men in the town determined to do something about their situation—Ezra Weston, Nathaniel and Joshua Winsor, and Samuel Delano. These men were gifted with vision and endowed with a driving force. They plainly saw that the town was getting nowhere by simply feeding themselves. Their goal was to enter the commerce of the country; they proceeded energetically to do it.

<sup>1</sup> *The Honorable Seth Sprague and his Descendants* (1915), Appendix, p. 17.

Around a nucleus of skilled mechanics they developed a notable force of efficient shipwrights, who at length gave to Duxbury ships a high reputation for the excellence of their craftsmanship.

The Winsors began to build larger schooners, sending them to the Grand Banks. Returning to Boston, they happily arrived repeatedly at a splendid market and their owners became prosperous, giving employment to a large section of the town's available labor.

Samuel Delano opened a shipyard and succeeded notably.

Ezra Weston I (1743-1822) set his sights on a distant horizon and eventually reached a high peak in the building and operation of ships. His early plans were interrupted by the Revolution, in which he served, but with peace achieved he struck out vigorously for a share of the new country's trade. The papers of the Weston business have become dispersed and no doubt largely lost, but by good fortune an excellent letter written by Ezra Weston I was found in the collection of Graham T. Winslow, Esq., who is descended from Sylvia Church, Ezra I's first wife. It is addressed to the master of his sloop *Jerusha*; it gives an insight into Mr. Weston's meticulous manner of conducting his long-range business:

Duxbury, December 11, 1793

Arthur Howland, Sir, you being at present master of the sloop *Jerusha*, now in the harbor of Duxbury and presently to sail, our orders to you are that you embrace the first fair wind and weather that permits and proceed to the Pascotonck River in North Carolina. On your arrival there you will deliver your letters to Ezra Weston Junior, your consignee and join with him in trading your cargo on board, or deliver him your cargo to trade. If an opportunity presents to freight or charter the sloop, or any part of her and you think more to the profit of your owners than to proceed with their property, you will freight or charter to such port or ports as you and your consignee shall think best. But if you neither freight nor charter the sloop, you will take on board such goods and merchandise as you and your consignee shall think proper and proceed to such port or ports as he, the said Ezra Weston [junior] and you shall think best. So that he and you have a right to act each and every part of the business in the port of North Carolina on an equal footing and he, the said Ezra Weston junior's orders shall be binding on you and your owners.

If so be that on your arrival at Pascotonck River, Ezra Weston junior is not there, you will sell your cargo and purchase such goods as you shall think best and proceed to such port or ports as you shall think most to the advantage of your owners; or freight or charter the sloop, or any part of her, and act every part of the business the most to your owners profit, so that you are, on your return to Duxbury, the port of your discharge, at or before the last of July next, which will be in the year 1794. You will keep a good command on board your vessel. You will let your owners hear from you by every opportunity; and for your commissions on trade in Carolina five



per cent on sales and returns, divided between you and the said Ezra Weston junior, if there, and likewise five per cent in each and every port or ports you shall trade in, for sales and returns.

So God send you a prosperous voyage and a safe return,  
We are your friends and owners,

Ezra Weston.

One must not become so intrigued by the phonetic spelling in the reproduction of the original, as to lose sight of the attention to details that is revealed. It would seem that every contingency that might arise was covered either directly or by an alternative. Mr. Weston held a taut line on his masters. However, it will be noted that he recognized his fallibility in attempting to forecast conditions at a distance, both in time and space, by reluctantly 'slacking the line' a bit. The precarious times and the markets forced him to give Captain Howland some latitude of judgment when unforeseen circumstances arose, but it will be seen that he held him fast again by the constrictive phrase, '... act every part of the business the most to your owner's profit. ...'

While Captain Howland was in the Pascotonck River another letter was received which was much in the same tenor as that given him upon sailing from Duxbury. However, the second letter ordered him to the West Indies. 'My orders to you are to load your vessel with corn, white oak, red oak lumber. ...' After disposing of this cargo he was told to load her with salt, large quantities of which Mr. Weston used in his fisheries. Then, with what funds Captain Howland had left from the outward cargo, he was ordered to fill out with rum, molasses, coffee or cotton and proceed to Duxbury. 'You will,' Mr. Weston advised, 'observe all the laws and customs in each and every port you trade in, and in every part of the business, in the best manner for your owner's interest. ... I shall rely much on your prudent management of my affairs.'

It would appear from these letters of instruction that Mr. Weston desired the masters to conduct his business in a strictly honest manner, while keeping a sharp eye on the profits of the voyage.

One marvels at the breadth of knowledge that followed painstakingly every phase of this small sloop's voyage, the discipline, the prices, the needs and fancies of various people, the customs, the legalities and the weighing of risks. All without the aid of clerks, files, late or frequent market reports, in the modern sense. And later, when the father and son had a score of vessels over the world in various trades, selecting their cargoes, maintaining their upkeep, discarding the unprofitable and replacing with new, it was the work of master minds, indeed.

Such trading as that of the little sloop *Jerusha* brought home welcome capital and the village began to 'mushroom'; that was the word used by the Honorable Seth Sprague, when writing in his old age about the accelerating prosperity that took place in his young manhood. In the thirty-five years from the days when that impulse came to those ambitious men, there was a remarkable transition from poverty to comfortable living. The large, commodious, 'square-rigged' houses, for which the town is celebrated, began to line the newly laid out Washington Street that followed the shore for two miles. In those houses were then found Turkey carpets, mahogany furniture, elaborate French ware to grace the dining tables, which also displayed the luxury of figs, oranges, raisins and dates, all brought home from the seaports of Europe. This was before the China trade was in full swing, yet ladies appeared on occasion dressed in Italian satins, French shoes, gloves, and laces. In fact, the shipmasters, owners, and builders of this little town formed a community of relative affluence to the southward of Boston that Salem, on a larger scale, was to the northward.

An item in a letter written by Mr. Weston's seafaring brother-in-law to his wife, shows what was a commonplace instance of how some lace appeared in Duxbury, where thirty years before the homespun lacked such frills. The letter is dated at Bordeaux, France, 28 July 1795. '... I have just been sealing up another little package of white laces to send you by Captain Dunbar of the brig *Two Friends*. He has promised that he will deliver them himself. ...'

So successfully had Ezra Weston I exercised his genius that by 1798 he dominated the growing shipping activities of Duxbury, and was making his name known in American ports and abroad. His countinghouse was in Boston where the business of cargoes was largely transacted, but his home and all the building and fitting out of the ships was in Duxbury. He so rapidly added ship to ship that he became locally known as King Caesar. In that year (1798) he took his son Ezra II (1772-1842) into the firm—the name being changed from E. Weston to E. Weston and Son—which name continuing until the death of Ezra I in 1822. Ezra II then extended the business under the simple name of Ezra Weston, a name which became widely known and the house flag of three horizontal stripes, red, white and blue, was a familiar masthead signal in all the seaports of the world.<sup>2</sup>

During the year 1831 Mr. Weston built six vessels, ships and brigs, one being the ship *Eliza Warwick* of 530 tons, which was a large vessel for

<sup>2</sup> *Reminiscences of Captain John Bradford* (Old Colony Memorial, June 1895).

those days. In 1832 the firm's countinghouse was located at 29 Long Wharf; the last address of the business in Boston was 37-38 Commercial Wharf. Mr. Weston, when in the city, lived at the Franklin Hotel.<sup>3</sup>

Captain Arthur H. Clark, that reliable maritime historian, and Lloyd's Agent at New York in his later life, wrote: 'Ezra Weston was the most famous of the old-time Boston ship-owners [referring to the father] . . . The Westons were easily the largest ship-owners of their time in the United States, and not only built but loaded their own vessels.'<sup>4</sup>

If all the vessels built and owned by them from 1800 to 1842 were to have sailed in column, with only a ship's length between them, they would have formed a line four miles long. There were twenty-one ships, one bark, thirty-two brigs, thirty-five schooners and ten sloops—small vessels by modern standards but among them were some of the largest of their day.

This diversified fleet composed of deep-water ships down to coastal sloops, was kept plying, each in her appropriate trade, each branch dovetailing into the whole business structure. Ezra Weston II continued to broaden the firm's activities until he had almost a self-contained industry. He owned vast timber lands of oak and pine from which his great ox teams hauled the lumber to his shipyard on Blue River, a diminutive but highly useful tidal stream for over one hundred years. The ships were in part provisioned with vegetables, beef and pork from Weston farms; fish caught on the Banks by his schooners were salted and went out in other ships as a chief article of commerce, not to mention its use in the galley; the salt used in his fisheries was brought from Portugal or the West Indies in his own vessels.<sup>5</sup> The Weston ropewalk, 1000 feet long, was supplied with raw materials of manila hemp, brought back by his craft that sailed to Far Eastern waters. The vessels were sparred from the spar yard, the sails bent to those spars were from the Weston sail loft; the blacksmith shop and forge, making his tools and anchors, used iron from the Ladoga mines which masters took aboard at St. Petersburg.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Weston depended largely on his own construction to maintain the fleet, as had long been the policy; there were always several vessels on the stocks. An exception is the case of *Lagoda*, which shows that he was also in the market at times. This ship was built for him at Scituate in 1826, and flew his house flag for some years. As this vessel became famous

<sup>3</sup> *Simpson's Directory* (1832-1833).

<sup>4</sup> *The Clipper Ship Era* (1910), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Memorial to Gershom B. Weston* (1916), p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *The Story of Duxbury 1637-1937* (1937), p. 92.

after being 'sold to Boston,' it may be of interest to divert the attention to her for a moment: Her name came about through an error in spelling; it being the intention to name the vessel for the iron mines of Lake Ladoga to which he was indebted for raw material. The painter, lettering the stern, blundered by reversing the d and g, the name becoming Ladoga—and was never changed, an error that went to fame. Under that name she droghed hides off the coast of Southern California in company with the brig *Pilgrim*, leading Richard H. Dana to mention her in his *Two Years Before the Mast*. She was then converted to a whaler and sailed out of New Bedford, becoming one of the most successful vessels in the history of the industry, earning over \$652,000. She is now immortalized as the largest indoor model (half size) in the world, housed in the Jonathan Bourne Whaling Museum.

Another celebrated Weston vessel was the brig *Smyrna*, which was the first American ship to enter the Black Sea. She arrived in Odessa on 17 July 1830, passing through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus under a permit issued by the Sultan of Turkey.<sup>7</sup>

In the days of the Westons, every Duxbury boy with a latent ability to make a ship pay dividends, had a golden opportunity. The shipowners' eyes were always alert for such evidences of enterprise. They were not so impressed by mere skill in seamanship and navigation as in the energy to get things done. Mr. Weston once, when reproached for sending out a master 'who had come in the cabin windows,' as the saying went—that is, the easy way direct, and not by way of the forecabin—said that he did not care how a man had gone to sea, how long, or if he had been at all, provided he could sail a ship 'to a profit.'<sup>8</sup>

There is a tradition that on one occasion it was desired to send a schooner to St. Ubes (Sabugal), Portugal, with salt fish, to return with a cargo of salt. The master of the particular vessel designated for the voyage had the confidence of Mr. Weston and he was sent out in her regardless of the fact that he had never made an offshore passage. The skipper, no doubt, was familiar with the simple formula known as 89-48, by which he could quite readily obtain his latitude. If he steered east (or west) true, the vessel would follow a course in the same latitude, that is, along the same parallel. If the winds or current set him either above or below the selected parallel, it would be easy to edge a little southward or northward and regain his course. It so happened (and shrewd Mr. Weston no doubt knew) that St. Ubes is nearly on the 38th parallel, while Duxbury

<sup>7</sup> *Memorial to Gershom B. Weston* (1916), p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Bradford, *Historic Duxbury* (1900), p. 88.



is in  $42^{\circ}$  N. It would not have taxed the skipper's abilities greatly to steer a course southeastward from Cape Cod, dropping slowly down until he was in the latitude of  $38^{\circ}$ , then (with minor adjustments for wind and current) he could follow that parallel eastward until he sighted the coast in the vicinity of St. Ubes. Then reversing the procedure, the voyage was safely completed.

Another story is told of the manner in which Mr. Weston made a master, Captain Alexander Wadsworth. The firm ran a regular packet sloop to Boston, and often among the passengers was Mr. Weston himself. One day this young boatman, Wadsworth, was aboard the sloop going to the city. The vessel, off Scituate, was struck by a squall and dismasted. Wadsworth jumped into the emergency, giving valuable aid in the recovery of gear, setting up a jury rig and getting the sloop into port. Mr. Weston noted this exercise of skill and energy. Alexander was invited to enter the employ of the firm; in a few years he was a shipmaster.

And there was Captain John Bradford, who, as a small boy, worked from sun to sun in the dimly lighted ropewalk, only relieved from the monotony by the occasional launching of a ship, when all hands of the Weston establishment turned to in working her down the river. He escaped the long, dismal toil by shipping to sea at an early age and, in due course, rising rapidly in the Weston service, he commanded their big ship *Hope*.<sup>9</sup> Those were laborious days. Sun to sun was no pretty phrase. In the weeks around the summer solstice, work in the Weston employ began at 4:30 A.M., interrupted by a half hour for breakfast, an hour at noon for dinner; and there was a brief, cheery halt at 11 A.M. and at 4 P.M. for a tot of rum on the boss (an ameliorating phase of the day's work), ending at 7:15 P.M. If a boy felt these hours too long or tedious, he could go to sea in one of the ships where his duty on deck would be four hours on and four hours off, around the clock. However, there were mates who could not bear to see an idle sailor on deck, even in his 'watch below,' and usually found something for him to do; also there were times when 'all hands on deck,' deprived him of time off. So as to actual hours there may have been little choice, but he seldom found it tedious, and, after all, he was heading for his ambition—a command.

The commodious, dignified homes and comfortable circumstances in which long-retired shipmasters lived, were ever before the young man as an incentive and still indicates how substantial had been the rewards for a man sailing the Westons' ships 'to a profit.' Captain Seth Sprague of Marshfield, one of Mr. Weston's masters, lived in retirement for fifty-two

<sup>9</sup> *Reminiscences of Captain John Bradford* (Old Colony Memorial, June 1895).

years. Captain John Bradford knew and talked with thirty-three of the Weston masters.<sup>10</sup>

In the later days of the Westons' activities, communication was still only as fast as a sailing vessel could bring the information; it had changed little from the days of the early *Jerusha* voyage in 1793. Often a vessel would be long delayed by head winds or calms, hence an owner dispatching a cargo abroad was acting on old news as to the market at its destination. He, of necessity (to be successful), had to exercise extraordinary foresightedness in anticipating trends of prices and demands in politically unsettled Europe. He tried to do this in his letter of instructions to his masters, yet a master might write back by a homeward-bound ship, 'I arrived at a poor market for my fish.'

Furthermore, in endeavoring to foresee a favorable situation, the shipowner was obliged to constantly follow the changes in the values of foreign currencies and exercise shrewdness in availing himself of the advantages of using certain seaports with debased currency in which to buy and other ports of sound currency in which to sell.

Daniel Webster, while speaking on the subject of currency at Saratoga in 1841, revealed the astuteness of Ezra Weston II in this matter of ship management, whereby he enriched himself by moving his ships from and to ports of favorable currency:

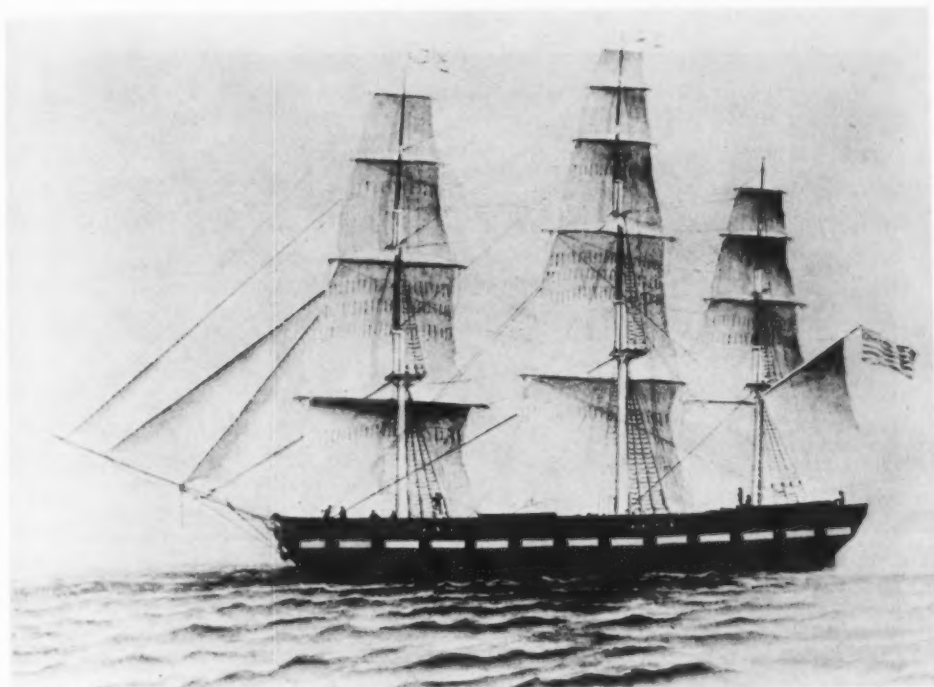
... I live on the seacoast of New England, and one of my nearest neighbors is the largest ship-owner, probably, in the United States. During the past year, he has made what might suffice for two or three fortunes of moderate size; and how has he made it? He sends his ships to Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, to take freights of cotton. This staple, whatever may be the price abroad, cannot be suffered to rot at home; and therefore it is shipped. My friend tells his captain to provision his ship at Natchez, for instance, where he buys flour and stores in the currency of that region, which is so depreciated that he is able to sell his bills on Boston at forty-eight per cent premium. Here, at once, it will be seen, he gets his provisions at half price, because prices do not always rise suddenly, as money depreciates. He delivers his freight in Europe, and gets paid for it in good money. The disordered currency to which he belongs does not follow and afflict him abroad. He [the captain] gets his freight in good money, places it in the hands of his owner's banker, who again draws a premium for it. The ship-owner then makes money, when all others are suffering, because he can escape from the influence of the bad laws and bad currency of his own country.<sup>11</sup>

In the Duxbury Historical Society's collection is a memorandum book kept by the Westons in which was set down statistical data of many ves-

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> *The Works of Daniel Webster* (1851), II, 23.





Ship *Oneco*, built at Duxbury, 1839. Length, 147 ft., 1 in.; breadth, 30 ft., 9 in.; depth, 15 ft., 4½ in.; 640 tons. Registered at Plymouth, 1839. Joshua Drew, master; Ezra Weston and Joshua Drew, owners



Ship *Hope*, built at Duxbury, 1841. Length, 159 ft., 3 in.; breadth, 34 ft., 9¼ in.; depth, 17 ft., 4⅜ in.; 880 tons. Registered at Plymouth, 1841. Truman Soule, master; Ezra Weston, owner

Duxbury December 11. 1793  
 Arthur Howland I see you being present master of the sloop  
 Jerusha now in the harbor of Duxbury and being told  
 my orders to you are that you shall have the first fair wind  
 and weather that promises and proceed to Haco tonch River  
 and the Carolines on your arrival there you will  
 deliver your letters to Ezra Weston and your consine  
 and being with him in trading your cargo on board  
 or deliver him your cargo to trade off an opportunity  
 presents to freight or charter the sloop or any part  
 of her and you think more to the profit of your  
 owns then to proceed with their property you will freight  
 or charter to such Port or Ports as you and your consine  
 shall think best. But if you neither freight nor charter  
 the sloop you will trade in good such goods and merchandise  
 as you and your consine shall think proper and proceed  
 to such Port or Ports as he the said Ezra Weston and you  
 shall think best so that he and you have a Part  
 Port of North Carolines on a equal footen and be  
 the said Ezra Weston and your orders shall be binding  
 on you and your owns  
 It so be that on your arrival at Haco tonch  
 River Ezra Weston and your is not there you will  
 sell your cargo and freight such goods as you shall  
 think best and proceed to such Port or Ports  
 as you shall think most to the advantage of your  
 owns or freight or charter the sloop or any part  
 of her and act every Part of the Business the most  
 to your owns Profit so that you are on your Return  
 to Duxbury the Port of your Discharge at or before  
 the last of July. 1794 which will be in the year  
 1794 you will keep a good Comand on board your  
 Vessel you will let your owns hear from you by  
 every opportunity and for your Comissions in trade  
 in Carolines five Percent on Sales and Returns  
 Denial. Betwixt you and the said Ezra Weston  
 if their and Dick Rise five Percent on Cutch and  
 every Port or Ports you shall trade in for Sales and  
 and Return so god send you a Prosperous and  
 safe Return. We are your friends and only  
 Ezra Weston

Letter from Ezra Weston I to Arthur Howland, master of the Weston sloop  
 Jerusha

Courtesy of Graham T. Winslow

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sels. By reading over this material one gets the impression that the ships were operated on a strictly commercial basis, only slightly encumbered by the sentiment sometimes found among the owners of beautiful and faithful vessels. However, when *Hope* was sold in 1853 there appears the sole entry that carried a touch of feeling: 'Good luck attend her.' And well might *Hope* stir a grateful impulse; she sailed that lucrative triangle to which Mr. Webster referred, reaping rich harvests for the Westons. She was a lucky ship, too, commanded by able Captain Freeman Soule for a part of her twelve years under the Weston flag; one or two years under Gershom B. Weston and the last three years in the capable hands of Captain John Bradford.<sup>12</sup>

This ship *Hope* was launched on 20 May 1841, then, it is said, the largest merchant ship in New England. It was quite a struggle, taking two weeks, to get her out of Blue River; those 881 tons were almost too much for that small but famous stream. To ease her draft she was sparred in the lower harbor, known as the Cowyard, and not too inconvenient for Captain Soule, then courting his sweetheart, Nancy Freeman, living near Eagle Nest Point.

The Weston memorandum book shows a singular absence of disasters, which indicates efficient management, judgment in the selection of masters, and care in equipment. However, we find that the schooner *Volunteer* (109 tons), only a year old, sailed for Guayama, Puerto Rico, on 5 October 1834, and was abandoned at sea on 14 December, with the loss of her foremast. Of what Mr. Weston said to the master there is no record, but the book states mildly enough: 'It was a bad operation. . . . It was a poor affair of said master's leaving her. He ought not to have done it.' One has a feeling of sympathy for Mr. Weston, for by reading further we find that *Volunteer* remained afloat, drifting to the vicinity of Bermuda, where she was picked up and towed in. There she was sold, the salvors getting most of the proceeds.

The Westons also met with a heavy loss in the ship *Joshua Bates* (319 tons). She was launched at Duxbury in 1831. On 21 September 1832 she sailed from London for New York and was struck by lightning; damage not known. She sailed on her last and fateful passage from Charleston, South Carolina, for Havre, France, on 7 February 1833. She was never directly heard from again. However, there was an unconfirmed report that she was spoken by a ship during a gale in the English Channel. The

<sup>12</sup> In his later years Captain John was Port Warden of Boston; in 1893 he dropped dead in Duxbury, while on a sentimental mayflowering expedition to the old family woodlot—a gentle departure for a deep-water sailorman!

next day, the same vessel saw a ship, believed by her to be *Joshua Bates*, driven on the Casquets, the outpost rocks of France off the Contentin Peninsula, which thrusts far out into the Channel; they have been a menace to mariners since time out of mind.

When we look over the long list of vessels with so few casualties reported, the wide diversity of employment and that profitable triangle, we are led to feel that the Westons, father and son, had a rare and gifted touch in the art of operating ships.

This touch, first held by the father for some thirty years, then jointly by the father and son for twenty-four years, followed by the son for twenty years, created an ever-increasing property. With the passing of Ezra II in 1842, the firm came into the hands of his three sons, Gershom B., Alden, and another Ezra. The rapidly changing character of shipping then taking place, both in the size and design of ships; the divided authority, with, perhaps, a loss of former genius, all contributed to a gradual decline of the business—the last new ship, *Manteo*, being launched in 1843.

In this descent from father to son and grandsons, is seen the characteristic social and educational transition that follows the accumulation of wealth. The father with a minimum of formal schooling but with a capable mind, sparked by a vigorous ambition, was truly a sturdy soul. Work was his life; starting first as a shipwright, then as an owner and operator, he departed little from his early simple manner of living; never left the modest cottage of his youth on the south side of Powder Point.

The son, born in the expanding circumstances of a growing fleet, acquired a degree of culture and social amenities. He built a large, handsome house next to his father's cottage, facing the bay and in the midst of their industry. The fitting-out wharf was immediately in front of the house, the ropewalk in the rear and the shipyard to the right on the river bank. Within the house the walls were (and are) decorated with French pictorial tapestry paper and otherwise equipped with furnishings of affluence. Yet work was still the watchword; the strictest attention was given to all phases of the business, all else was subordinate. Equally effective as his father in the operation of vessels, he kept the business in an upward trend.

Then came the three grandsons: Gershom B., a capable man and a public-spirited citizen, well trained in ship management and he himself had made voyages, but he became somewhat diverted by the fascination of politics. Alden apparently did not follow the changing conditions with his father's vigor, though he long had handled the Boston end of the firm's affairs. Ezra III, an estimable and cultured gentleman, was gradu-

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ated from Harvard and traveled in Europe. While in England he became absorbed in the study of forestry, devoting much time to this pursuit. Unlike his father and grandfather, when looking at a great oak he saw only its beauty and grandeur, while they would have calculated the size of keel it would produce.

However, the brothers appear to have been shrewd to the last, for by 1855 the cream had been skimmed from the American shipping industry and it is not surprising that in 1857 the last unit of the once large fleet was liquidated and the Westons, who had contributed so much to the development of the country, passed from the shipping scene and the famous house flag from the seas.

The following list of Weston vessels is incomplete. It has been compiled from the records of the Plymouth and Boston Customhouses, which in themselves are incomplete, and from other sources which have added a few ships to the list. Little information is available as to the vessels owned prior to the establishment of the Customs Service in 1789.

## THE WESTON FLEET

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rig</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Where Built</i>
<i>Admittance</i>	brigantine	1802	170	Duxbury
<i>Admittance</i>	ship	1810	—	Kingston
<i>Admittance</i>	ship	1834	427	Duxbury
<i>Angler</i>	schooner	—	—	—
<i>Angola</i>	brig	1832	221	Duxbury
<i>Ardent</i>	schooner	1815	125	Duxbury
<i>Baltic</i>	brig	1821	212	Duxbury
<i>Bramin</i>	ship	1816	245	Duxbury
<i>Camillus</i>	ship	1811	337	Duxbury
<i>Ceres</i>	brig	1828	176	Duxbury
<i>Collector</i>	schooner	1818	91	Duxbury
<i>Columbia</i>	sloop	1799	52	Duxbury
<i>Dispatch</i>	brig	1815	136	Duxbury
<i>Dispatch</i>	brig	1818	124	Duxbury
<i>Dray</i>	schooner	1825	86	Duxbury
<i>Eagle</i>	schooner	1785	63	Duxbury
<i>Eliza Warwick</i>	ship	1836	530	Duxbury
<i>Exchange</i>	schooner	1816	57	Duxbury
<i>Express</i>	schooner	—	—	—
<i>Ezra and Daniel</i>	brig	1805	169	Duxbury
<i>Federal Eagle</i>	brig	1800	141	Duxbury
<i>Fenelon</i>	schooner	1806	109	Duxbury
<i>Flora</i>	schooner	1810	142	Duxbury



Name	Rig	Year	Tons	Where Built
Franklin	ship	1826	246	Duxbury
Ganges	brig	1826	171	Duxbury
Gershom	brig	1806	112	Duxbury
Globe	brig	1822	215	Duxbury
Golden Grove	brig	1815	135	Duxbury
Herald	brig	1822	162	Duxbury
Hope	ship	1841	881	Duxbury
Jerusha	sloop	—	—	—
Joshua Bates	ship	1831	316	Duxbury
Julian	ship	1828	356	Duxbury
Julius Caesar	ship	1804	310	Haverhill
Lagoda	ship	1826	341	Scituate
Levant	brig	1825	219	Scituate
Lion	brig	1839	235	Duxbury
Magnet	schooner	—	—	—
Malaga	brig	1827	151	Scituate
Manteo	ship	1843	399	Duxbury
Margaret	brig	1820	186	Scituate
Maria	sloop	1801	88	Haverhill
Mattakeesett	ship	1833	481	Duxbury
Messenger	brig	1816	135	Duxbury
Messenger	brig	1834	214	Duxbury
Minerva	ship	1808	224	Duxbury*
Minerva	ship	1834	292	Duxbury
Mirror	schooner	1834	83	—
Neptune	brig	1829	197	Duxbury
Ocean	schooner	—	100	—
Oneco	ship	1829	640	Duxbury
Oriole	brig	1837	218	Duxbury
Pallas	bark	1825	209	Duxbury
Panope	schooner	1820	92	Duxbury
Paulina	brig	1826	219	Duxbury
Phoenix	schooner	1794	54	Duxbury
Pioneer	brig	1824	231	Scituate
Pomona	schooner	1827	85	Duxbury
Prissy	schooner	1789	53	Duxbury
Ranger	schooner	1834	90	Duxbury
Reform	sloop	1830	53	Duxbury
Renown	ship	1830	296	Duxbury
Rising States	schooner	1798	73	Duxbury
Rising Sun	brigantine	1796	141	Duxbury
St. Lawrence	ship	1833	357	Duxbury
St. Michael	schooner	1817	121	Duxbury
Salumith	schooner	1805	79	Duxbury
Seadrift	schooner	1832	90	Duxbury

\* Possibly built at Pembroke.



# THE EZRA WESTONS, SHIPBUILDERS

41

Name	Rig	Year	Tons	Where Built
<i>Smyrna</i>	brig	1825	163	Marshfield
<i>Smyrna</i>	brig	1839	196	Duxbury
<i>Sophia</i>	schooner	1787	25	Duxbury
<i>Trenton</i>	brig	1836	227	Duxbury
<i>Triton</i>	schooner	1815	52	Duxbury
<i>Two Friends</i>	brig	1819	260	Duxbury
<i>Undine</i>	ship	1831	254	Duxbury
<i>Union</i>	schooner	1803	75	Duxbury
<i>Vandalia</i>	ship	1835	318	Duxbury
<i>Virginia</i>	schooner	1834	73	Duxbury
<i>Volant</i>	schooner	1798	74	Duxbury
<i>Vulture</i>	brig	—	—	—
<i>Volunteer</i>	schooner	1833	109	—
<i>Warren</i>	brig	1809	184	Duxbury

Ships, 20; Bark, 1; Brigs, 28; Brigantines, 2; Schooners, 27; Sloops, 4. Many more whose records have not been found.

*Gershom Bradford, our most recent authority on the great sea serpent, has now turned his attentions to one of the eminent shipping families of the little town on the South Shore of Massachusetts Bay where he makes his summer home.*

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## *Hawaiian Whaling Days*

BY EDWARD LEE DORSETT, M.D.

AS early as 1820, whaling ships from the ports of New England called at the Hawaiian Islands, visiting the ports of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo, for their annual or semiannual recruiting, provisioning, refitting and repairing. As the Islands were nearly half way between the South Pacific and the Arctic whaling grounds, these Hawaiian ports were readily accessible and furnished the whaling vessels with all the necessary supplies they needed. By 'putting in' at any of these ports and discharging their bone and oil, they were able to send these home in merchant ships and return to their whaling grounds without spending many months on a voyage home via Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn to discharge cargoes. It was much cheaper to send the oil and bone home in this manner than to make the voyages themselves in their own ships.

The first industry to be developed in the Hawaiian Islands was the collecting and sale of sandalwood, but the supply of this rare wood was soon exhausted. Fortunately a new industry, that of supplying whaling ships, followed the sandalwood trade. Whalers brought in whale oil and bone and laid over for refitting and taking on supplies for voyages to the whaling grounds off the coast of Japan, in the South Pacific, and in the Arctic. This soon developed into a tremendous industry and continued until the introduction of petroleum and the Civil War (when Southern warships destroyed a great number of Yankee whalers) put the whaling industry out of business.

There were few if any records kept officially of this trade in the Hawaiian Islands, but in old newspapers are found records of arrivals and departures of ships from whaling ports of the United States, Great Britain, France, and a scattering of whaling vessels from other countries. Besides these visiting whalers from abroad, whale ships were built or bought locally and sailed under the flag of the Hawaiian Islands.

The first record of a whaler putting into a Hawaiian port was the

ship *Balena* of New Bedford, under the command of Captain Edmund Gardner. While in Kealakekua Bay this vessel captured a 110-barrel whale. *Equator* of Nantucket, Captain Elisha Folger, arrived at the Islands soon after *Balena*, in 1819. The first whaler to enter the harbor of Honolulu was *Maro* of Nantucket, Joseph Allen, Master, where she arrived in the later part of 1820.

At about the time that the whalers began to arrive in the Hawaiian Islands, the missionaries came also. These two conflicting foreign elements, plus the traders, caused considerable rivalry that on several occasions broke into open conflict. The influence of the missionaries over the native Hawaiians was resented by the seafaring men, who demanded what has since been called a 'wide open town.' The missionaries were soundly denounced for the 'blue laws' that hampered the seamen's shore leave activities.

Historians never considered mentioning Hawaiian cities as whaling ports in the same class as Nantucket, New Bedford, Sag Harbor and some other New England towns. Nevertheless in November 1843 there arrived in the Hawaiian Islands 140 whaling vessels, 132 of which were American, three from Bremen, three from London, and one each from Sydney, Australia, and St. John, New Brunswick. In 1844 some 160 whalers visited Honolulu alone and 326 whalers put into the port of Lahaina. In this same year there were in all 434 American whale ships, 26 French, 19 Bremen and nine British, besides a few from other countries. In 1845 whalers from Hamburg, Prussia, France, Bremen, Denmark and Norway visited the Hawaiian Islands.

This great number of whaling ships, together with United States and foreign naval vessels, and many merchant ships, arriving and leaving the Hawaiian Islands, required an enormous amount of supplies both for the ships and their crews. One outfitter listed some 650 different articles necessary for a whale ship to be supplied. Under stores listed there were 111 separate items, and there were also sixteen 'trade articles' such as cotton cloth, prints, shoes, fish hooks, tobacco, and soap. The 'slop chest' required some forty different articles. 'Sails and ducks' included twenty-three items, and under 'sundries' were such things as compasses, sextants, and chronometers. Large quantities of hardware, cooper-ware, and crockery were used. Of course the list of supplies and their amount varied according to the size of the vessel and the number of men in the crew; also the length of the voyage and whether or not the whalers and other ships were bound to the Arctic or the tropics. After a

voyage that averaged two years or more, a whale ship required an almost complete renewal of her supplies, to say nothing of an overhauling of the vessel.

The Hawaiian Islands were an ideal location for refitting and replenishing almost all of the whale ship's needs. Many of the whaling vessels lost some part of their crew while stopping in the Islands and were obliged to 'take on' natives of the different islands to replace the deserters. This became so prevalent that the local authorities were obliged to pass laws requiring the captain of a whaler to post a bond guaranteeing the return of the native islanders to their homes after the whaling voyage was over. Unfortunately many of these natives never saw their homes again. Some of the vessels were lost, some of the natives could not stand the rigors of the Arctic weather, and others died of disease contracted in foreign ports or from diet to which they were not accustomed.

Mark Twain in 1866, then a correspondent for the *Sacramento Union*, wrote for his paper: 'The Whaling trade of the North Seas centers in Honolulu. Shorn of it, this town would die . . . though this town might flourish afterwards as a fine sugar plantation.' How true was this prophecy.

A little-known aspect of the industry is the number of whaling vessels built and purchased by people living in the Hawaiian Islands. The first whaling vessel owned and fitted out in Hawaii was owned by A. Pierce and commanded by Captain G. W. Cole in the year 1832. This vessel returned from a whaling voyage with 1,000 barrels of sperm oil. Also in 1832 Captain Samuel J. Dawsett sailed from the Islands in *Victoria* on a whaling voyage to the South Pacific but was reported 'missing.' Ship, crew, and cargo were lost somewhere in that broad expanse of the southern whaling grounds. The brig *Waverly*, outfitted by Pierce, was sent in search of *Victoria* but she was captured by natives of Strong's Island where her officers and crew were killed and the ship burned. In 1841 the Tahitian brig *Eagle*, formerly *Osprey* of New Bedford, was purchased by a group of men living in Hawaii and renamed *Honolulu*. She made a very successful voyage to the South Pacific, returning with 400 barrels of sperm oil.

In 1851 the American ship *Chariot* was purchased by Captain James Mahee and sailed north on a whaling voyage. In 1852 the brig *Juno*, commanded by Captain Corwin, went out under the Hawaiian flag. Four years later the Hawaiian whaling fleet consisted of two ships, three barks, six brigs, and three schooners. Between 1850 and 1860, whaling was at



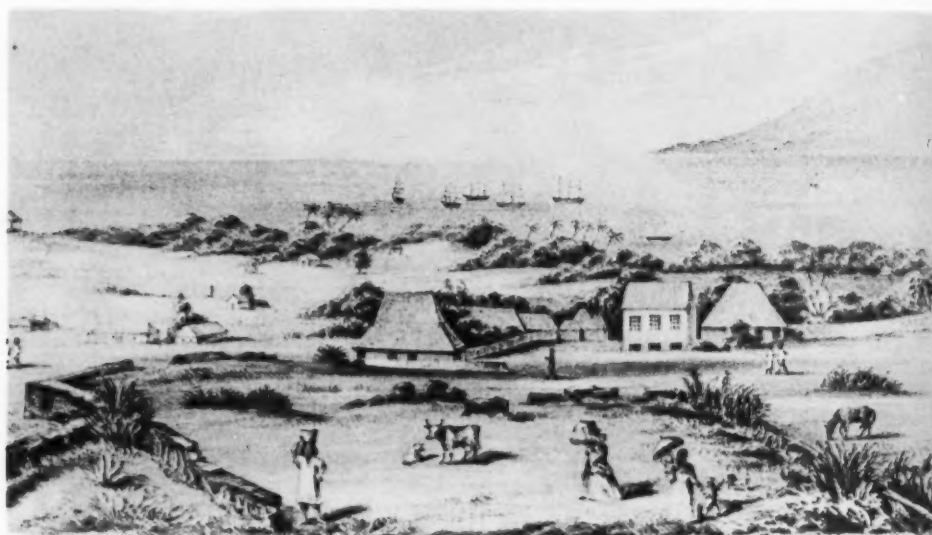
View of Honolulu

*Reproduced from a lithograph in Na Motu or Reef-Roving in the South Seas (New York, 1854),  
by Edward T. Perkins*



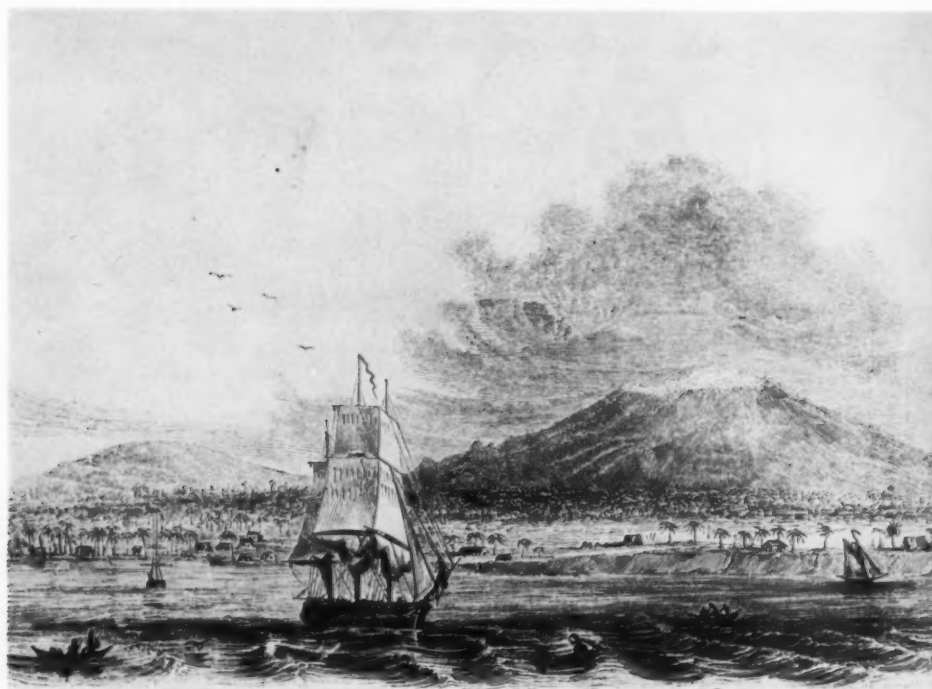
'A shoal of Sperm Whales off the Island of Hawaii in which the ships *Enterprise*, *William Roach*, *Pocahontas* and *Houqua* were engaged 10 December 1833. To the merchants, captains and officers and crews engaged in the whale fishery; this print is respectfully inscribed by Cornelius B. Hulsart, who lost an arm on board the whale-ship *Superior* of New London.' Painted by T. Birch of Philadelphia from a sketch by C. B. Hulsart. Engraved and printed by J. Hill





View of the port of Lahaina

*Reproduced from a lithograph in Na Motu or Reef-Roving in the South Seas (New York, 1854),  
by Edward T. Perkins*



View of the port of Hilo showing the volcanoes of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa

*Reproduced from A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands (New York, 1847),  
by Hiram Bingham*



its height in the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>1</sup> In 1859 there arrived 549 whalers in the ports of the Islands. This was the peak year and from then on this once great industry began to decline, not only in Hawaii but all over the world.

To list the names of the whaling vessels of the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and one or two other countries which visited the Hawaiian Islands, would be an impossible task, as there is no official record remaining except in old Hawaiian newspapers and missionary papers. Before 1850 practically no records remain.

To date only a very few ship's logs of Hawaiian whalers have been found, in contrast to the large number of logs of whalers that sailed under the flag of the United States. Some logs paint anything but glowing pictures of the 'Paradise of the Pacific' and the poor missionaries considered the men from the whaling ships 'a most ungodly lot.'

Many of these old ship's logs give us a faint glimmer into whaling life when ships and crews were arriving, fitting out, and leaving the Hawaiian Islands. The following are good examples:

From the log of the whale ship *Robin Hood* of Mystic:

Mch. 8. 1846—First part moderate trades—one boat fast—whale sounded and tore out the logerhead and went off with part of the line and three irons and one lance and with two tubs. Kept to the S.W. til 4 P.M. and then hauled up W.N.W. Saw no whales—at 8 A.M. saw the island of Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands bearing S.W. dis. about 40 miles—steering W. by N. for Mowee. So end this day.

Mch. 10 . . . working up to the anchorage abreast Lahina.

Mch. 11. . . watch on shore on Liberty—rest emplyd in watering and getting recruits on board.

From the log of the whale ship *Benjamin Tucker*:

Oct. 8. 1850 . . . bore away for the port of mowee—ship hove in sight.

Oct. 12. . . . dropped anchor—10 or 12 whalers in sight.

Oct. 18.—sent home 30-100 bbls of oil in the *Conedy* of New Bedford.—the carpenter and 3 men deserted.

From the log of the whale ship *Ocean* of New Haven:

Oct. 14. [1860] . . . at daylight raised the island of Molahi [Moloki]—at 11 A.M. a piolet came on board from Honolulu, several vessels waiting for the steam tug who are here before us.

Oct. 15—at 2 o'clock took the tug and came to anchor in the Harbour of Honolulu.

Oct. 18—employed in coopering the oil—sent it on board the ship *St. George* of New Bedford who carries it home for us.

<sup>1</sup> *The Hawaiian Annual* for 1913 contains a list of Honolulu whalers, with their annual catch.

Oct. 21.—This day all hands ashore attending devine services at the Bethel twice today. Ferris the cabin boy has run away—I think he is aboard another vessel.

Oct. 27.— . . . the Barque *Yankee* sailed for home—she carries the u.s.Mail.

The whale ship *Ocean* returned to Hawaii in the spring of 1861 and records the following in her ship's log:

May 2—[1861]—This day the ship *Speedwell* sailed for San Francisco. She was stove as was supposed by a rock in the lagoon in California when she was whaling and was sunk. The captain sold her for a mere song. The purchaser found the breech was caused by the vessel running over one of her own anchors. They repaired her and got her to Honolulu. The hole [whole] proceedings does not sound very creditable to her captain but we will let others judge him.

May. 3—This town [Honolulu] is a dull place, especially at this time of year.

May 7—The clipper ship *Black Hawk* arrived today from Frisco bringing news from the Eastern States that a Cival War had commenced.

In 1860 some 325 whaling ships arrived in the Hawaiian Islands but this was to be the last large fleet that ever came there. During the Civil War the Confederate raiders *Shenandoah* and *Alabama* caused great havoc among the Yankee whalers in the Pacific. This, with the introduction of petroleum, practically put an end to the great industry. In December of 1864, in company with two American whalers, a Hawaiian whaler was captured and burned by the Confederate ship *Shenandoah*.

In 1871 there occurred a great tragedy in the Arctic. In that year thirty-three whalers were lost in the ice. Among them were the Hawaiian whale ships *Kohola*, *Victoria*, *Paiea*, *Monticello*, *Julian*, *William Roach* and *Comet*. The Hawaiian bark *Arctic*, under the command of Captain Tripp, was the only ship that was able to escape from this awful disaster and return to her home port at Honolulu.

*Dr. E. Lee Dorsett, a native of St. Louis, Missouri, received his medical education at St. Louis University and became associated with his father, the late Dr. Walter B. Dorsett. After attending clinics in Europe he now specialized in obstetrics and gynecology. His maternal ancestors were seafaring people from Massachusetts. From this ancestry and from spending some twenty summers in Maine and Massachusetts, he became interested in sea lore; his special interest being the study of whales and whaling on which he has an extensive library.*

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## The Continental Brigantine Resistance

BY WILLIAM BELL CLARK

THIS is an account of the brief career of the Continental brigantine *Resistance*, a vessel deserving better recognition in the sea warfare of the American Revolution than is accorded her in the most recent naval history of that period.<sup>1</sup> There is much about her of interest, from fitting out to untimely demise, that warrants both expansion and correction for the record.

*Resistance* had been acquired for the Continental navy without authorization from either Marine Committee or Congress. She had the unique honor to be the first cruiser to get to sea under the Stars and Stripes. She made two cruises; one of six months' duration in which she lost her captain killed in action, the other of three days in which she ended her course a prize to Lord Howe's fleet. From the spring day in 1777, when Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., Continental agent for Connecticut, bought her hull, until the summer afternoon in 1778, when, wrapped in flames, she was torn apart by the explosion of her magazine, exactly sixteen months and one day had elapsed—27 April 1777 to 28 August 1778: a short life but an eventful one.

Commodore Esek Hopkins, while in Philadelphia in August 1776 undergoing investigation by the Marine Committee, had recommended that the former British armed schooner *Hawke*, taken by his fleet when returning from the New Providence expedition, be purchased and added to his force. The Committee had concurred, and had addressed a letter to Nathaniel Shaw instructing him to buy the vessel 'on the best terms in your power and assist the Commodore to fit equipp and man her with all possible expedition as a Continental Cruiser.'<sup>2</sup> This letter was placed

<sup>1</sup> Howard Chapelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1949), p. 95: 'and a 10 gun brigantine, the *Resistance*, was fitted out at New London, Connecticut, for the Continental service. She was captured by Howe's fleet in 1778'; p. 551: '*Resistance*, 1777. Brigantine; dimensions and builder unknown; bought New London, Conn., 1777; captured by British, 1778; battery, 10 4-pdrs.'

<sup>2</sup> Marine Committee to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., 22 August 1776, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 17, Library of Congress.

in Hopkins' hands for delivery, when, on 22 August, he departed for Providence, Rhode Island, to rejoin his fleet. Instructions also were given the Commodore to offer command of the new cruiser to Captain Samuel Chew, of New London, Connecticut, a seaman 'Strongly recommended by the Committee of that place.'<sup>3</sup>

Nathaniel Shaw was not at home when the Commodore passed through New London on 28 August, but inquiries disclosed that *Hawke* had been sold.<sup>4</sup> Both Shaw and Captain Chew pursued the Commodore to Providence by letter; the former to ask if he should buy another vessel in the stead of the prize schooner, which he considered defective; the latter to inquire what chance there might be for a commission.

'As to purchasing the Schooner you best can tell,' Hopkins replied to Shaw, 'as you had directions in procuring the Vessel. My instructions is to Mann her and Order her where to Cruise. I have no Orders to buy or to direct any other Person to buy. Perhaps you would do well to write to the Marine Committee for Orders in that matter as I believe they had no apprehension of any Warlike Vessel, Guns or Stores of any kind being Sold without their special Order so to do.'<sup>5</sup>

To Captain Chew, Hopkins pointed out that he had directions from the Marine Committee to offer him the command of *Hawke*, 'which can't be done as the Schooner is gone.' If Shaw purchased another vessel—and the Commodore stressed that such matters were entrusted solely to the Continental agent—he would fit her out and acquaint Chew of it.<sup>6</sup> The Commodore enclosed copies of the correspondence on 10 September to the Marine Committee, 'by which you will know the Circumstances of . . . the Schooner which Mr. Shaw was to purchase.'<sup>7</sup> The original intention of the Marine Committee had been to add *Hawke* to Hopkins' fleet for an expedition to Newfoundland.<sup>8</sup> By the time it received the Commodore's letter, intelligence had disclosed that most of the vessels of the fleet were out cruising and the expedition had been abandoned.<sup>9</sup> Hence, non-purchase of the schooner was of minor importance and the Committee forgot all about it.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Id. to Esek Hopkins, 22 August 1776, Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, 1848), 5th series, I, 1106. The postscript of this letter is printed in Alverda S. Beck, ed., *The Correspondence of Esek Hopkins* (Providence, 1933), p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Esek Hopkins to Marine Committee, 1 September 1776, Alverda S. Beck, ed., *The Letter Book of Esek Hopkins* (Providence, 1932), pp. 75, 76.

<sup>5</sup> Id. to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., 9 September 1776, *ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Id. to Samuel Chew, 9 September 1776, *ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> Id. to Marine Committee, 10 September 1776, *ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Marine Committee to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., 17 June 1777, *Marine Committee Letter Book*, p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> Id. to Esek Hopkins, 10 October 1776, *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Id. to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., 17 June 1777, *ibid.*, p. 92.

Not so, Nathaniel Shaw. That gentleman concluded 'that so Good a Man as Cap<sup>t</sup> Chew should not Remain UnEmploy'd.'<sup>11</sup> He and the captain began looking for a suitable vessel, but found none to their liking until April 1777, when a prize schooner was sent into Stonington harbor. It met their requirements. Shaw learned that the owner of the privateer which had taken her was James Swan, a Boston merchant.<sup>12</sup> Whereupon, he and Chew, the latter upon Continental pay as of 15 April, set off for Boston.<sup>13</sup> Swan agreed to sell them the prize schooner. Shaw figured her hull would carry eighteen 4-pounders, and he had but four of that weight which had been recently freighted into New London from Hartford.<sup>14</sup> So he and Chew made inquiries in Boston. Elisha Hinman, commanding the Continental ship *Alfred*, outfitting in the harbor, had four excess guns,<sup>15</sup> and John Bradford, Continental agent for Massachusetts, believed there were ten in the prize ship *Mellish* at New Bedford.<sup>16</sup>

On 26 April, eleven days after departure, they were back in New London,<sup>17</sup> having come a roundabout way through New Bedford to confirm the presence of ten 4-pounders on board *Mellish*. Next day, Shaw opened a lengthy ledger account with: 'April 25 To paid James Swan for the Hull—£700.' She was brought around from Stonington early in May, and shipwrights, joiners, riggers, and painters were soon swarming over her as she lay at Shaw's wharf, being converted to a brigantine with her sides pierced for nine guns each. A new foremast was purchased and a foreyard acquired from the frigate *Trumbull*, lying in the Connecticut River. She was painted brown with yellow trim, and, by the end of May, was well along towards completion.<sup>18</sup>

Shaw sent Captain Chew to Philadelphia to announce to the Marine Committee that, as directed in its letter of 22 August last, and by the advice of Commodore Hopkins, he had purchased a brigantine suitable for

<sup>11</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr. to Marine Committee, 24 July 1777, Mercantile Letter Book of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., Yale University Library; printed, Earnest E. Rogers, *Connecticut Naval Office at New London* (New London, 1933).

<sup>12</sup> The privateer was likely the ship *Boston*, which returned to Boston from a successful cruise on 25 March 1777, and had taken six prizes. She was the only vessel owned by James Swan at sea in that period. Swan owned or had large interests in twelve privateers during 1776-1780, Gardner W. Allen, ed., *Massachusetts Privateers in the Revolution* (Boston, 1927), pp. 71, 86, 89, 91, 105, 115, 117, 121, 215, 217, 265, 315.

<sup>13</sup> 'Brigg Resistance Accot Currt with Saml Chew Augt 26, 1777,' Shaw Papers, Yale University Library.

<sup>14</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., in account with the ship *Trumbull*, *ibid.*, Book 26, pp. 109-115.

<sup>15</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., to Elisha Hinman, 20 May 1777, Mercantile Letter Book of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Id.* to John Bradford, 20 May 1777, *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* to Thos & Isaac Wharton, 26 April 1777, *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> 'Brigg Resistance Acco 2519, No. 14,' *ibid.*



an armed cruiser in the navy. The captain set off from New London on 27 May, arrived at his destination in mid-June, and dumfounded the Committee with his information. There was a scurrying about for a copy of the original order to Shaw, and then a sharp, admonitory letter to the agent:

On recurring to our letter to you of the 22<sup>nd</sup> August last, we find that our Orders were expressly that you should purchase and fit out the Schooner taken by Como. Hopkins . . . but we cannot consider that you were authorized by the Orders we gave you to buy a Brigantine Eight Months after without having first consulted us on that head. Commodore Hopkins never has been invested with any authority from us to order the purchase of Vessels for our Navy and we beg leave to recommend in future an observance of our orders only.

While not considering itself bound to accept the vessel, yet, as 'the Public service will be benefited thereby,' the Committee had concluded to take her, and appoint Chew as her commander. So the balance of the letter to Shaw adopted a more friendly tone:

You will please to put on board provisions &c for a four Months Cruise and make the necessary advances of Money which will be wanted for manning and fitting her out, and recommend your doing everything in the most frugal manner. . . You will please to furnish us in due time with Accounts of the Cost and outfit of this Vessel with proper Vouchers and a List of the Men on board at the time of sailing.

There was a brief postscript: 'This Brig is to be called the *Resistance*.'<sup>19</sup>

That same day, 17 June, the Committee notified Samuel Chew of his appointment as a captain in the navy and of his assignment to the new brigantine. He was directed to repair at once to New London where Shaw would assist him in manning and fitting her out, and where

as soon as ready for sea you are to proceed immediately on a Cruise against the enemy, choosing such stations as you think will be most likely to intercept their Merchant or Transport ships, and you are to take, sink, burn or destroy, as many of their Vessels of every kind as may be in your Power. The Prizes you may take you will send into the most convenient and safe Ports in these States addressed to the Continental Agents, and you may continue your Cruise as long as your Provisions will last and then return into the first safe Port you can make advising us of your arrival and we will give you fresh orders. . . Should you be tempted by any Circumstances not known to us to continue your Cruise until your Provisions and Stores may be nearly expended, you may procure further supplies at such foreign Ports as may be convenient for the purpose and we shall punctually pay your drafts.<sup>20</sup>

Congress in April and May had created and appointed a Navy Board for the Eastern Department, to be located at Boston, and to relieve the

<sup>19</sup> Marine Committee to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., 17 June 1777, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 92.

<sup>20</sup> Id. to Samuel Chew, 17 June 1777, *ibid.*, p. 93.

Marine Committee by handling all naval and marine affairs in the four eastern states.<sup>21</sup> But the Board had not yet been convened, nor received its orders. One of the members was John Deshon, of Groton, so to him went a letter entrusted to Chew for delivery. The Marine Committee enclosed 'some Blank Commissions which we must trouble you to fill up with the Names of such persons as you may think proper for Lieutenants and other officers' on board *Resistance*. The Committee gave Deshon this trouble, it explained, 'in consequence of your being appointed a Member of the Navy Board of the Eastern Department.'<sup>22</sup> Either Chew or William Whipple and William Ellery, Congressional members who left for the New England states a few days earlier, carried to Nathaniel Shaw a copy of a resolution passed in Congress on 14 June:

Resolved, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.<sup>23</sup>

By the time Samuel Chew returned from Philadelphia, the 4-pounders from Boston and New Bedford, each with carriage, had arrived and been mounted.<sup>24</sup> Many items needed to complete the outfit were not available in New London, so Shaw sent the captain off to Boston and Providence armed with somewhat identical letters to John Bradford and Daniel Tillinghast. 'There will be several articles wanting that cannot be had in this State and Cap<sup>t</sup> Chew comes on purpose to git them,' he wrote to each Continental agent. 'I beg you would assist him with what articles that he wants for the purpose & have them sent forward as soon as possible that there might be no delay in the Brigs Sailing.'<sup>25</sup> Fifty muskets from Bradford were the major requisition Chew made on this trip, but the Massachusetts agent suggested delivery at New Bedford, rather than New London, urging that *Resistance* run around to the latter port. Swivels, &c., were secured by the expedient of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul,' namely, taking them from the Continental schooner *Mifflin*, lying in New London harbor.<sup>26</sup> Additional spars, including a main boom and foreyard, were borrowed from Joshua Huntington, who was building a Continental frigate at Norwich, Connecticut.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Journal of Congress, 19 April, 6 May 1777.

<sup>22</sup> Marine Committee to John Deshon, 17 June 1777, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 94.

<sup>23</sup> Journal of Congress, 14 June 1777. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, X (Philadelphia, 1886), 366-374.

<sup>24</sup> 'Brigg Resistance Acc<sup>o</sup> 2519, No. 14,' Shaw Papers, Yale University Library.

<sup>25</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., to Daniel Tillinghast and John Bradford, 6 July 1777, Mercantile Letter Book of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., *ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> 'Brigg Resistance Acc<sup>o</sup> 2519 No. 14,' *ibid*.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Shaw to Joshua Huntington, 16 July 1777, Albert C. Bates, ed., *Huntington Papers* (Hartford, 1923), p. 65.

The Marine Committee's letter of censure lay for several weeks unanswered on Nathaniel Shaw's desk. He finally replied to it on 24 July, his letter indicating no contrition for his action:

Yours of ye 17<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> by Cap<sup>t</sup> Chew came to hand (and as I Expected) you Consider that I was not Authoriz'd by your former orders to buy a Brig<sup>ne</sup> Eight Months after without first Consulting you on that head. The Case was Just this, I was determin'd that so Good a Man as Cap<sup>t</sup> Chew should not remain UnEmploy'd, and if you would not let him have a Vessel, I would let him have one on my own Acco<sup>t</sup>. If you had Refus'd to take the Brigg it would have been no Determ<sup>t</sup> to me. On the Brigg<sup>n</sup> Sailing shall furnish you with the Acco<sup>ts</sup> &c. I shall have her Ready to Sail in a few days.<sup>28</sup>

This was over optimistic. Shaw, Chew and Deshon had selected the officers, and a rendezvous had been opened in New London to recruit a crew. An attractive bounty, ranging from £9 to £12 had brought results, but *Resistance* was not yet provisioned, nor were all her other stores on board. The officers, all from Connecticut, were William Leeds, first lieutenant; George Champlin, second lieutenant; Samuel Cardwell, master; and Jabez Smith, lieutenant of marines. Among the warrant officers were William Chenny, carpenter; Robert Dawson, boatswain; and Jonathan Averell, surgeon's mate.

The new Continental flag was ready in early August. Shaw had bought from Adam Babcock, a New London merchant, on 2 August, '1 ps Linen for Colours,' and '6 yards oznebrigs for ditto.' Samuel Bell took the material and cut, fashioned and stitched it to conform to the resolution of Congress. The Stars and Stripes were rippling in the breeze from the stern staff, when, on 26 August, *Resistance* dropped down the Thames and veered eastward through Fisher Island Sound.<sup>29</sup> Nathaniel Shaw's benediction had been 2,027 pounds of powder delivered on board that morning; 1,688 for the 4-pounders and 339 for muskets and pistols.<sup>30</sup>

Samuel Chew gave a wide berth to British-occupied Newport. After passing Point Judith, he rounded to the south of Block Island and ran for Buzzards Bay, arriving at New Bedford around 1 September. The fifty muskets came down in due time from John Bradford, followed by a letter from the Navy Board of the Eastern Department, which, at last, had organized at Boston. The Board informed the captain on 11 September that he should wait until the Continental brigantine *Hampton*, com-

<sup>28</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., to Marine Committee, 24 July 1777, Mercantile Letter Book of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., Shaw Papers, Yale University Library.

<sup>29</sup> 'Brigg Resistance Acco 2519, No. 14,' *ibid.* 'Brigt Resistance Acco<sup>t</sup> Curr<sup>t</sup> with Samuel Chew, Aug<sup>t</sup> 26, 1777,' *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., in account with Marine Committee, 26 August 1777, Shaw Papers, Book 26, p. 103, *ibid.*

manded by Captain Ezekiel Burroughs, was ready to sail, so they could cruise in company.<sup>31</sup>

A wasteful delay ensued. *Hampton's* outfitting was not completed for a month. The two vessels weighed on 4 October, and stood forth from New Bedford harbor, but *Hampton* piled up on the rocks just outside the entrance, a total loss.<sup>32</sup> So *Resistance* sailed alone after all, and, as John Bradford remarked, too late to intercept the Jamaica fleet.<sup>33</sup> Chew steered southward, heading for the sea lanes to the eastward of Barbadoes, which should prove a profitable cruising ground during the winter season. He was at sea with the Stars and Stripes a month before John Paul Jones, generally credited with first flying the new flag, cleared Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in *Ranger*. Jones sailed 1 November for France.<sup>34</sup> By then, *Resistance* was already in West Indian waters.

Toward the end of November, after a long period of disappointing cruising, *Resistance* took her first prize. She was the ship *Mermaid*, James Cockrane, master, of 168 tons burden,<sup>35</sup> mounting ten 4-pounders, and carrying a cargo valued at £4500 sterling.<sup>36</sup> *Mermaid* was intercepted to the eastward and in sight of Barbadoes. From a distance she had seemed an unusually large vessel, and Chew expected a fight. As they approached her it could be seen she had 'been Sawd to carry her Guns,' which had made her appear longer than she really was.<sup>37</sup> Actually, she offered no resistance. She was laden with merchandise taken on board at Glasgow and Greenock, and destined for Barbadoes planters and Bridgetown merchants. Such a cargo would be appreciated by the residents of Boston, but contained nothing suitable for the army, save some linen. As she had a plentiful supply of provisions, Chew took out sufficient to enable him to prolong his cruise.

A prize crew was placed in *Mermaid*, and she was ordered for Boston and consigned to the Continental agent. To the prize master, Chew entrusted letters to the Navy Board of the Eastern Department and to John Bradford.<sup>38</sup> He intended, he wrote both, to run south to Demarara (pres-

<sup>31</sup> 'Votes & Resolutions of the Navy Board of the Eastern Department,' 2 September, 10 October 1777, Library of Congress.

<sup>32</sup> *Connecticut Gazette* (New London, 10 October 1777).

<sup>33</sup> John Bradford to Leonard Jarvis, 2 October 1777, John Bradford Letter Book, Library of Congress.

<sup>34</sup> John Paul Jones to American Commissioners in France, 4 December 1777, Franklin Papers, VII, 129, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

<sup>35</sup> Libel of Samuel Chew against ship *Mermaid*, *Independent Chronicle*, Boston, 25 December 1777.

<sup>36</sup> John Bradford to Leonard Jarvis, 23 December 1777, John Bradford Letter Book, Library of Congress.

<sup>37</sup> Id. to Robert Morris, 16 March 1778, *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> 'Votes & Resolutions of the Navy Board of the Eastern Department,' 19 December 1777, Library of Congress.



ent British Guiana) for fresh water and then return and continue to cruise eastward of Barbadoes. *Mermaid*, he told them, was an American-built vessel and about six years old. In his letter to Bradford, he expressed disappointment with the sailing qualities of *Resistance*.<sup>39</sup>

*Mermaid* arrived in Boston harbor 17 December and was duly condemned. Before she could be sold Bradford had to secure special dispensation from the Massachusetts General Court, which had forbidden public auctions.<sup>40</sup> On 3 March 1778, the ship alone went under the hammer for £2900, and the cargo brought commensurate high prices.<sup>41</sup>

Following his purpose, as he had outlined it to the Navy Board, Samuel Chew ran due south and on 8 December, entered Demarara River and anchored off the town of Stabroek (now Georgetown, British Guiana). A Dutch merchant, Michael Hendrick Lester, had enough faith in the new United States to accept the captain's bill on the Continental Congress in the amount of 632 guilders for 'sundries supplied for the brigantine *Resistance*.'<sup>42</sup> Chew remained in the river several weeks, long enough to 'Clean his Brigg' and take in fresh water, and then departed from the South American coast, returning to his cruising ground east of Barbadoes.

Early in January he took a twelve-gun sloop that had been sent out of Barbadoes to prey upon the American West India trade. There are no further details about this capture save that Chew fitted her out as a tender 'to cruize in Concert with him,' and by a homeward-bound New England merchantman sent word to the Navy Board and to Samuel Shaw of his second prize.<sup>43</sup> The news delighted the Connecticut Continental agent, who, with recollections of the reprimand he had received, boasted to the Marine Committee: 'It gives me Pleasure to hear of his Success, as the fitting of him out was a Plan of my own, & I hope he will Answer your Expectations.'<sup>44</sup>

What happened to the captured sloop is not disclosed. Chew probably carried her with him into Martinique, when, after a long period marked by no further success, he sailed into St. Pierre harbor in early February, where William Bingham, the Continental agent, viewed his advent with

<sup>39</sup> John Bradford to Marine Committee, 19 December 1777, John Bradford Letter Book, *ibid*.

<sup>40</sup> Resolve of General Court, 19 February 1778, *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, XX (Boston, 1918).

<sup>41</sup> John Bradford to Robert Morris, 16 March 1778, John Bradford Letter Book, Library of Congress.

<sup>42</sup> Journal of Congress, 25 November 1780.

<sup>43</sup> John Bradford to Robert Morris, 4 February 1778, John Bradford Letter Book, Library of Congress.

<sup>44</sup> Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., to Marine Committee, 2 February 1778, Mercantile Letter Book of Samuel Shaw, Jr., Yale University Library.



mixed emotions. Writing to the Secret Committee on 8 February, Bingham stated: 'The Arrival of the Continental Brig *Resistance* has thrown me into new Difficulties—her Disbursements here will amount to a considerable Sum, which I am by no means in a situation to Advance.'<sup>45</sup>

The Stars and Stripes, appearing for the first time in that French Colonial port, filled Bingham with such pride that the discommoding of his financial affairs were discounted. The agent, in youthful enthusiasm, wrote ebulliently to Congress:

The arrival of the Continental brig *Resistance* gave me an opportunity of seeing as much respect paid to the Continental Flag, as to that of his Britannic Majesty, who proudly assumes the sovereignty of the seas. After encountering those difficulties which an attempt to reform customs generally occasions, liberty was obtained for Capt. Chew to enter into the port, drop anchor, and take his departure without going through any of the Custom-house formalities, or paying any of the fees of office; and likewise to hoist his pendant in the harbour, altho' the French Commodore was then in port. It has given me a very sensible pleasure to see our Continental Flag on so respectable a footing—The design of these colours is happily conceived, and has occasioned general admiration; I hope the lustre of the new Constellation will continue to increase; there is a rising radiance already spread about it, brighter than what encircles the brow of fallen Majesty. I expect soon that it will have a conspicuous place assigned it in the political system, and under its propitious influence to see America rise to Freedom, Independence and Empire.<sup>46</sup>

While *Resistance* was undergoing repairs in St. Pierre harbor, Samuel Chew wrote to the Navy Board of the Eastern Department of his intention to continue cruising in the same area, feeling sure his luck would change. His letter 'exhibited such a specimen of spirit & industry' as marked him, in the mind of James Warren, a member of that board, who read it a month later in Boston, as 'a good officer.'<sup>47</sup>

*Resistance* sailed from Martinique on 21 February and on 4 March, far to windward of Barbadoes, fell in with his Majesty's packet *Granville*, Captain Capthorne, a ship mounting twenty 6-pounders. Although his own armament was inferior in number of guns and weight of metal, Chew attacked with vigor. The engagement, much of the time within pistol shot, raged for four hours. The packet had her cabin and after parts badly shattered, and the mail, which had been slung over the stern ready for sinking, was shot away and lost.<sup>48</sup> One man had been killed on

<sup>45</sup> William Bingham to Secret Committee, 8 February 1778, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Uncatalogued Letters, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>46</sup> 'Extract of a letter from Martinico, Feb. 21,' *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Yorktown, Pennsylvania, 4 April 1778).

<sup>47</sup> James Warren to William Vernon, 11 April 1778, William Vernon Papers, Newport Historical Society.

<sup>48</sup> *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* (20 April 1778).

board her and her captain and seven men wounded, but her heavy fire had kept *Resistance* at bay.<sup>49</sup>

Loss on board the brigantine had been slight, but Chew was not satisfied to call it a drawn battle. He determined upon a desperate boarding effort, and gathered a dozen or more men along the bulwarks as *Resistance* headed directly for her adversary, grappling irons ready. A broadside from *Granville* knifed through the grouped boarders, killing Chew and three others instantly and wounding a number more. Lieutenant William Leeds assumed command and drew off. The packet limped without further molestation for Barbadoes and *Resistance* headed for Martinique, Lieutenant George Champlin being added to the casualty list, dying of disease two days after the encounter.<sup>50</sup>

The shattered brigantine re-entered St. Pierre harbor 11 March, and the story of the engagement with the packet, and its unfortunate climax, went off to the Continent, where news of the captain's death brought universal regret. 'I heartily deplore the Death of Cap<sup>t</sup> Chew in whom his Country has lost a Gentleman, a fine Officer, & his Friends a good Companion,' wrote John Bradford, 'he is honour to himself & to the Colours he fought under in his last Moments.'<sup>51</sup> James Warren lamented, that 'Captain Chew is indeed dead to my grief, having conceived a very good opinion of him.'<sup>52</sup> The Marine Committee, too, expressed its sorrow, but was 'glad at the same time to find that he died bravely fighting a ship of superior force.'<sup>53</sup>

Repairs were made at Martinique, with more bills for William Bingham to pay, and *Resistance* was ready for sea by 25 March. The Continental agent had sent fifteen tierces and a barrel of coffee on board, consigned to James Warren and entrusted to the care of Samuel Cardwell, the master.<sup>54</sup> He had also placed in her some fifty seamen from the Continental ship *Alfred*, taken 9 March to windward of Barbadoes when deserted by her consort, the frigate *Raleigh*.<sup>55</sup> These men had been landed at Bridgetown, where *Alfred* had been brought in by his Majesty's ships *Ariadne* and *Ceres*. They had been released and had made their way to

<sup>49</sup> 'Extract of a letter from Barbadoes, dated March 15 [1778]', *ibid*.

<sup>50</sup> *Independent Chronicle* (Boston, 23 April 1778).

<sup>51</sup> John Bradford to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., 8 April 1778, John Bradford Letter Book, Library of Congress.

<sup>52</sup> James Warren to William Vernon, 11 April 1778, William Vernon Papers, Newport Historical Society.

<sup>53</sup> Marine Committee to John Bradford, 28 April 1778, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 143.

<sup>54</sup> James Warren to William Bingham, 9 June 1778, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Uncatalogued Letters, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>55</sup> *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* (20 April 1778).

Martinique.<sup>56</sup> From St. Pierre to Boston, beset by contrary winds and storms, consumed thirty-eight days, and twenty-three of *Alfred's* late crew died during the passage. *Resistance* arrived at Nantasket Road on 2 May, where the clamor of *Alfred's* survivors ran 'very high' against *Raleigh's* captain. That, however, is another story.<sup>57</sup>

Samuel Cardwell duly made his return of stores to the Navy Board, but, having forgotten to whom the coffee had been consigned, placed the fifteen tierces in storage awaiting a claimant. Then he went off to Connecticut. James Warren learned of the shipment a month later and located the tierces after a lengthy search.<sup>58</sup> The barrel could not be found, and Cardwell, upon his return, could not recall ever having seen it put on board; neither could other of the brig's officers.<sup>59</sup>

That *Resistance* might not lie idle in port, the Navy Board of the Eastern Department named Captain Daniel Waters to succeed the late Captain Chew. To its surprise and mortification, Waters refused to accept the assignment, 'alleging he was intitled to a better vessel.'<sup>60</sup> This officer had commanded a schooner in Washington's fleet in New England waters in 1776, and Congress on 15 March 1777 had commissioned him a captain in the Continental navy, and instructed the Marine Committee to furnish him with a ship.<sup>61</sup> Evidently he took the resolution literally, and, as the brig was not a ship, declined the command. This the Navy Board imparted to the Marine Committee on 7 May, and sought a more amenable captain. He was found in Captain Joseph Olney, 'a deserving Officer,' who readily obeyed. Things were going on finely, James Warren reported, when a letter arrived from the Marine Committee appointing William Burke, another of Washington's schooner commanders, to *Resistance*,<sup>62</sup> and instructing the Board to notify Captain Waters 'that should he again refuse such command as shall be offered him, we will consider the propriety of dismissing him from the service.'<sup>63</sup>

The Navy Board members deeply resented the Burke appointment.

<sup>56</sup> John Bradford to Marine Committee, 14 May 1778, John Bradford Letter Book, Library of Congress.

<sup>57</sup> *Independent Chronicle* (Boston, 7 May 1778).

<sup>58</sup> James Warren to William Bingham, 9 June 1778, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Uncatalogued Letters, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>59</sup> Id. to id., 8 July 1778, *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Marine Committee to Navy Board, Eastern Department, 30 May 1778, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 154.

<sup>61</sup> Journal of Congress, 15 March 1777.

<sup>62</sup> James Warren to Samuel Adams, 26 June 1778, Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Warren-Adams Letters* (Boston, 1917, 1925), II, 24-27.

<sup>63</sup> Marine Committee to Navy Board, Eastern Department, 30 May 1778, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 154.

He might be a good officer, the Board conceded, but to supersede its appointment of Olney mortified it greatly, undermined its authority, and also would further delay manning *Resistance*.<sup>64</sup> Prejudice of many Continental officers in Boston against Burke was so manifest that the captain hesitated to accept the command. There were reports of ill conduct while a prisoner of war—he had been taken in the schooner *Warren* in August 1776—and James Warren hoped, that as the Marine Committee had patronized him, he would ‘turn out an honest man.’<sup>65</sup>

William Burke’s commissioning as a Continental captain apparently had been accomplished by some adroit maneuvering on the part of his supporters in Congress, along with a timely memorial of his own in which he eulogized his services while a prisoner, having the ‘Satisfaction to believe, that the lives of many of the Sick were saved by his attention to their wants; and many of the common sailors by his persuasion and encouragement prevented from engaging in the enemy service.’ He and three others had escaped from New York at the end of February ‘taking two British Soldiers along with them.’ He had repaired to Boston, found no employment there, and proceeded to York, Pennsylvania, to present his memorial, along ‘with recommendations from divers gentlemen at and near Boston,’ to the Continental Congress.<sup>66</sup> The reward was a commission as of 1 May, and back pay from the date he was first appointed to the schooner *Warren* at the rate settled upon at that time.<sup>67</sup> Congress seemed much impressed with him, as was Samuel Adams, newly appointed to the Marine Committee, who believed that Burke’s selection for *Resistance* ‘may be a step to further promotion hereafter.’<sup>68</sup> Even when a little later, Congress heard read ‘a petition from sundry navy officers and declarations respecting Captain Burke,’ its only action was to refer the matter to the Marine Committee.<sup>69</sup>

Congressional and Marine Committee confidence in Burke was not shared by James Warren of the Navy Board. ‘Capt. Burke may be a good Officer,’ Warren wrote to Samuel Adams on 5 July, ‘but there are suspicions subsisting and a certain unpopular air and manner in his Behaviour that has Occasioned those Men who Intended to go in that Brigantine to leave her, and I fear in spite of every thing I can do it will be

<sup>64</sup> James Warren to Samuel Adams, 26 June 1778, *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 24-27.

<sup>65</sup> Id. to id., 28 June 1778, *ibid.*, II, 27-29.

<sup>66</sup> Memorial of William Burke, 30 April 1778, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 41, I, 162, Library of Congress.

<sup>67</sup> Journal of Congress, 1 May 1778.

<sup>68</sup> Samuel Adams to James Warren, 1 June 1778, *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 15, 16.

<sup>69</sup> Journal of Congress, 19 June 1778.



long before she goes to Sea. This Appointment seems to be a matter of Speculation, and as the Service is retarded by it gives great occasion for the observations of the Speculators.'<sup>70</sup>

Lieutenant William Leeds, Lieutenant of Marines Jabez Smith, Sailing Master Samuel Cardwell, and all warrant officers save William Cheny, the carpenter, refused to serve under Burke. The Navy Board was hard put to find replacements. Only a partial roster of the new officers exists. It shows Isaac Collins, master; Jacob Bacon, surgeon; John Blanch, master's mate; Isaac Hawkes, surgeon's mate; and two midshipmen, Charles Collins and Joseph Hayes. The two lieutenants of the line, and the lieutenant of marines are not listed.<sup>71</sup>

The Navy Board was striving to fill the complements of all Continental ships and vessels of war in Boston harbor so they could be dispatched to the assistance of the Count d'Estaing, whose French fleet had arrived off the American coast in July.<sup>72</sup> Such competition militated against getting hands for *Resistance* with an unpopular commander. Completing her crew was difficult, too, in the face of numerous desertions. Ten hands took French leave before 20 August, necessitating an advertised reward of twenty dollars a head for each one apprehended.<sup>73</sup>

By the time *Resistance* was ready to sail, James Warren, the only Navy Board member in Boston, did not know just where to send her. She was too small to be considered as an essential reinforcement for the French fleet, but she might be able to solve the uncertainty then existing as to the whereabouts of that fleet. It had been blocking the entrances to Narragansett Bay, but had sailed from there to engage Lord Howe's British squadron. Warren wished he 'could have the Sentiments of the Marine Committee,' but as that was impossible, he acted upon his own responsibility.<sup>74</sup>

Presuming the French were headed for Boston, Burke was dispatched on 25 August with orders to run out across Massachusetts Bay as far as Cape Cod to look for D'Estaing's fleet, and cruise off the Cape till it arrived. *Resistance* sailed at once. D'Estaing was not in evidence, so the captain, instead of remaining in the vicinity as his orders specified, stood southward. On the third day out, he ran smack into the overwhelming

<sup>70</sup> James Warren to Samuel Adams, 5 July 1778, *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 30, 31.

<sup>71</sup> Muster rolls H.M.S. *Ariel*, *Experiment*, *Rainbow*, Admiralty, Class 36, Nos. 7938, 7920, 8641, Public Records Office, London.

<sup>72</sup> Advertisement, Navy Board Eastern Department, 18 July 1778, *Independent Chronicle*, Boston, 23 July 1778.

<sup>73</sup> Advertisement for deserters from *Resistance*, *ibid.*, 20 August 1778.

<sup>74</sup> James Warren to Samuel Adams, 25 August 1778, *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 43, 44.



force of the enemy.<sup>75</sup> Captain Charles Phipps, of his Majesty's ship *Ariel*, tells what happened in his logbook for 27 August:

At noon the Admiral and Fleet on our Starboard Quarter. Moderate and Hazy Weather at 2 P M sounded 17 fathom water white sand with transparent Stones. In Chace of a Brig which we fired Several Guns at brought her to who proved to be the Congress brig *Resistance* of 16 Guns from Boston at 8 made sail and shifted the prisoners at 12 His Majesty's Ships *Rainbow* and *Experiment* with the Prize in Company.<sup>76</sup>

That night Burke's men were distributed through the fleet; some to *Rainbow*, some to *Experiment*, some to *Centurion*.<sup>77</sup> The captain with a few others was kept on board *Ariel* and next day witnessed the end of *Resistance*. Again, to quote Captain Phipps' logbook for 28 August:

got the Boats out and sent them on board the Prize at 3 P M the Boats returned after having set fire to the Prize by Order of Viscount Howe at 4 the Prize blew up.<sup>78</sup>

Two weeks later Marine Committee orders reached Boston for William Burke. *Resistance* was to cruise off the North Carolina coast in company with the frigate *Raleigh*.<sup>79</sup> When the orders arrived Burke was once more a prisoner in New York and what remained of *Resistance* was at the bottom of the sea southeast of Cape Cod.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> William Vernon to John Adams, 17 December 1778, *William Vernon and the Navy Board*, Publications Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence, 1901), pp. 255, 256.

<sup>76</sup> Captain's log, H.M.S. *Ariel*, Admiralty, Class 51, No. 61, Public Records Office, London.

<sup>77</sup> Muster rolls H.M.S. *Ariel*, *Experiment*, *Rainbow*, Admiralty, Class 36, Nos. 7938, 7920, 8641, *ibid*.

<sup>78</sup> Captain's log, H.M.S. *Ariel*, Admiralty, Class 51, No. 61, *ibid*.

<sup>79</sup> Marine Committee to William Burke, 24 August 1778, Marine Committee Letter Book, p. 174, Library of Congress.

<sup>80</sup> *Independent Ledger*, Boston, 5 October 1778.

*William Bell Clark, who for many years was in business in Chicago, now lives in Brevard, North Carolina. Since World War I he has devoted his leisure to the study of American Revolutionary naval history. He is the author of biographies of John Barry, Lambert Wickes, and Nicholas Biddle, and probably has more detailed knowledge of naval operations of the American Revolution than any other scholar.*

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# Notes

## NOTES ON AMERICAN SMALL CRAFT

PUBLICATION of Howard I. Chapelle's book *American Small Sailing Craft* induces me to offer a couple of items which relate to subject matter in his excellent book.

In Stark's illustrated *Bermuda Guide* (1884, Photo-Electrotype Co., Boston, Mass.) there is a group of plates (4" x 6") printed from photographs taken in January and February 1884 on gelatin dry plates.

One shows the Bermuda yacht *Undine* laying broadside in still water and under plain sail.

Another shows a Bermuda sloop in the immediate foreground with Ordinance Island in the close background. This plate gives a good view of the sloop's deck arrangement. She appears to be a work sloop as she has a large hatch forward of her cabin trunk.

There are several other interesting water-front pictures in this book.

The second and following item is taken from the newspaper, *The Newport Mercury* (Newport, Rhode Island) of 2 June 1795, No. 1728, and is thought to give more information on Colonial and early American boats as regards construction and equipment.

### Forty Dollars Reward

STOLEN from the Subscriber, on Saturday Night, May 9th, a double-bottom CEDAR BOAT, 19 Feet Keel, Green Bottom, black Wale, and white Hanks, Name on Her Stern, REPUBLICAN—very long headed Nails for Clinches thro' her Waist; Bullet Headed Nails in her Stern; an Iron Clamp with a Brass Sheave at her Stern for heaving up her Anchor; at her foremast Head, a blue Vane; she had two Staples in each Quarter for shifting her Sheets; her starboard Stern Sheet new, not painted; she has a small Scuttle for a Pump besides, and for bailing abaft; some new Patches in her Bulk Head, not painted; a Cable of about 30 fath-

oms; an Anchor, with Iron Stock about 40 lb. her Blocks all bushed with Iron Pins; her Sails Russia Duck; she had five square Pieces of Pig Iron, 450 Weight; and some common Pig Iron, and Stones for Ballast; and a joint Cover over her Ballast, not painted, with a Lock to it; Cod Lines, Hooks, and Leads, and a Compass on board, with many other Things not mentioned —The Person who took said Boat, goes by the Name of JAMES BROWN—about 5 Feet 9 Inches high, light yellow hair, slim make; wore a Bottle green Coat, blue thick Trousers; had a thick well set Scotchman with him whom he called his Mate.—His wife a middle sized Woman, with red Hair, and far gone with Child; she wore a changeable Silk Bonnet, trimmed with white.—Whoever will return said Boat and Thieves, shall receive FORTY DOLLARS Reward—or THIRTY for the Boat alone.

EPHRAIM WEEDEN

Newport (Rhode Island) May 30 1795

ERIC STEINFELDT

## ADDITIONAL NOTES ON *Ella and Annie*

IN my article, 'Ships That Tested the Blockade of the Carolina Ports, 1861-1865,'<sup>1</sup> I showed that the steamer *Ella and Annie* also had run under the name *Austin*. This showing was based on a statement to that effect contained in a consular despatch. I assumed that the consul knew what he was talking about, since it was the responsibility of U. S. consuls to keep up with blockade operations and make full and accurate reports thereon to the Secretary of State for his information and that of the Secretary of the Navy. Subsequently, finding several other statements that *Ella and Annie* had been named *Wm. G. Hewes*, I wrote Mr. John A. Canavan, Clerk of the United States District Court, District of Massachusetts, inquiring what the record of the prize proceedings in his court showed with respect to what other names, if any, *Ella and Annie* had been given. Mr. Canavan replied on 2 December 1948 as follows:

... The records of this Court indicate that there was a proceeding against the steamer *Ella and Annie* in the December Term, 1864 ... An ex-

<sup>1</sup> THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE, VIII (1948), 196-241.

cerpt from the deposition of one F. N. Bonneau, Master of the *Ella and Annie* at the time of her capture by the United States Gunboat *Niphon* is as follows:

(Answer to Interrogatory 10.)

I first saw the vessel (referring to the *Ella and Annie*) at Havana. She was built at Wilmington, Delaware, and her engines at New York. Her name was *William G. Hewes*. That name is on her engines now.

The steamer *Austin* [Donegal] ran exclusively in the Gulf.

The *Charleston Daily Courier* of 31 December 1863 contained a letter from F. N. Bonneau, master of *Ella and Annie*, written from Boston, Massachusetts, where, because of bad health, he was living temporarily on parole. With reference to his vessel's last and unsuccessful attempt to violate the blockade, he reported:

After having been laid up in Bermuda for a month for the repair of damages suffered in the hurricane of 11 September 1863, *Ella and Annie* took on board 'the heaviest cargo that has ever left Bermuda for Charleston or Wilmington since the blockade, amounting to 390 tons of dead weight, all on Government account, and sailed for the latter port on November 5, 1863, in company with the *R. E. Lee*. Off the North Carolina coast, they separated.'

A storm coming up, *Ella and Annie's* scheduled arrival at Wilmington was considerably delayed. Instead of getting there under cover of darkness on the night of 8-9 November, it was dawn of the ninth when she appeared off the entrance to the harbor. While trying to sneak in along the beach, she was discovered and intercepted by the United States Gunboat *Niphon*.

Determined to get through, *Ella and Annie* rammed *Niphon*, but a boarding party from the warship soon overcame all resistance. *Ella and Annie* received 41 shots in her hull in the course of the brief but dramatic engagement. One of her firemen was mortally wounded by grape. Two other members of her crew were seriously injured, and her two cabin boys received severe cutlass cuts.

After the holes in her hull had been plugged, *Ella and Annie* was sent to Boston for condemnation.

The crew of *Niphon* received \$90,506.89 as their one-half share of the prize money.

*Ella and Annie* was purchased by the U. S. Navy Department for \$139,000, converted into a gunboat, and re-christened *Malvern*.<sup>2</sup>

While *Ella and Annie* was undergoing conversion at the Charlestown, Massachusetts, Navy Yard, the steamer *Chesapeake*, of the New York-Portland (Maine) Line, was captured at sea by seventeen of her passengers, alleged to be Confederates. All United States warships in the vicinity were sent in hot pursuit. Even *Ella and Annie* was ordered to join the hounds. On 17 December 1863, she found *Chesapeake* hiding in Mud Cove, Sambro Harbor, Nova Scotia, deserted by all but three of her crew, and took possession of her.<sup>3</sup>

Commissioned on 9 February 1864 as U.S.S. *Malvern*, *Ella and Annie* steamed south and joined the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. She had been fitted to serve as Admiral D. D. Porter's flag-ship and served in that role until after the fall of Fort Fisher.<sup>4</sup>

*Ella and Annie* (*Malvern*) was put out of commission on 24 October 1865.<sup>5</sup> The next day she was sold to S. G. Bogart for \$113,500.<sup>6</sup>

In a report made to John B. Montgomery, Commandant of the Boston Navy Yard, on 7 December 1863, *Ella and Annie* was described as: 'Iron, Double Deck, Side Wheel Steamer, 240 feet

<sup>2</sup> *Prize Cases, Navy Department, Boston, 2*. Also *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1921).

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1921).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Log of the U.S.S. *Malvern*, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>6</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1921).

in length, 23 feet, 2 inches in breadth, and 9 feet, 3½ inches in depth of hold, about 1200 tons, has 2 masts and light sails ... Water tight compartments ... The frames are of flat bars of iron and the outside plates are secured with clamps over the frames ... One beam engine built at the Morgan Iron Works, New York, in 1860. Diameter of cylinder 50 inches, 11 feet stroke, diameter of main shaft 13½ inches, overhung paddle wheels 30 feet in diameter, face of paddle 7 feet x 20 inches. Has one large Woodward steam pump and donkey boiler; one horizontal tubular boiler 21 feet long; four furnaces 3 feet 6 inches x 6 feet, 8 inches. 8 direct flues 19 inches diameter and 11 feet, 7 inches long. 94 return tubes 5 inches in diameter, 14 feet, 9 inches long. Boiler situated forward of engine.<sup>7</sup>

The *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* describes the U.S.S. *Malvern* as: 'Side-wheel steamer; gunboat; iron. 2 masts. Tonnage 627. Length 240 feet. Beam, 23 feet, 2 inches. Depth 9 feet, 3½ inches. Engines—1—beam. Diameter of cylinder 50 inches. Stroke 11 inches. One horizontal tubular boiler. Four furnaces. ...'

Records in the Industrial Records Branch of the National Archives show that on 4 January 1866 there was enrolled at Wilmington, Delaware, a steamer *Wm. G. Hewes*. This enrollment (No. 21) shows that the vessel had been 'purchased of the U.S. in 1865,' and that her sole owner was Charles Morgan. Prior to the outbreak of the War Between the States, Charles Morgan had been the head of a steamship line that ran vessels out of New Orleans. This company had owned *Ella* and *Annie* when she was known as *Wm. G. Hewes*.

Other ship's papers in the Industrial Records Branch show that:

Enrollment No. 199 was issued to the

<sup>7</sup> *Commandant's Letters, September-December, 1863, Navy Yard, Boston*, vol. 3, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

new *Wm. G. Hewes* at New Orleans on 3 January 1867. Charles Morgan was shown as her owner.

Permanent Certificate of Registry No. 33, issued at New Orleans on 24 April 1878, states that the stockholders of Morgan's Louisiana and Texas Rail Road and Steamship Company were then the only owners of the steamer *William G. Hewes*, of New Orleans.

Permanent Certificate of Registry No. 2, dated 21 July 1883, and issued at New Orleans, stated that as of that date the steamer *William G. Hewes* was owned by the stockholders of the company mentioned immediately above. It showed that this vessel had 2 decks and 2 masts; that its length was 233.3 feet; its breadth was 33.1 feet; its depth was 18.2 feet; and that its net tonnage was 674.79, viz.:

Capacity under the tonnage deck	1117.61
Deductions under Sec. 4153, R.S., as amended,	442.82
Net tonnage	674.79

The registry of *Wm. G. Hewes* was surrendered at New Orleans on 4 March 1895. It bears the notation 'Vessel wrecked on Colorado Reef (Cuban Coast) February 20, 1895. Collector of Customs.'

*The Times-Democrat*, of New Orleans, carried an account of the loss of *Wm. G. Hewes* in its issue of 3 March 1895. It stated: 'The side-wheel steamer *William G. Hewes*, one of the oldest boats of the Morgan Line, having been built by Charles Morgan at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1860, is a hopeless wreck on the Colorado Reefs twenty miles south of the coast of Cuba.' It added that \$20,000 had just been spent on her repairs, and that she had been engaged in the fruit trade between the Gulf ports and Bluefields, Nicaragua, for twenty years.

Can it be that the gallant *Ella* and *Annie*, the intrepid *Malvern*, spent the last twenty years of her career as a banana boat? The record would seem to indicate that she did.

MARCUS W. PRICE



SIR SAMUEL ARGALL, KT., OF EAST SUTTON, COUNTY KENT, AN ELDER BROTHER OF TRINITY HOUSE AND SOMETIME GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

SAMUEL Argall first appears in recorded accounts in the year 1609 when he was chosen to discover a short route to Virginia whereby the pirates of the West Indies might be avoided. It seems that at this time he was regarded as one of England's foremost maritime pioneers. In the spring of 1610 he went to the new Colony—which had been settled in 1607—when Lord Delaware went out there as Governor-General, and then made several voyages from there to the northern coast trading with the Indians for provisions for the settlement.

The most important event in his career was his part in breaking up the French settlements on the coast of Maine. In 1611, although the English had by this time founded Jamestown and taken possession of Virginia, Louis XIII granted all the territory lying on the Atlantic coast between the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and Florida to a French Jesuit Mission which undertook to convert the Indians to their faith.

Argall was in London when the news arrived of these Letters Patent by an alien power. From his reputation for boldness and skill he was appointed to expel the intruders from the land claimed by England. He set out in 1613, and after capturing the missionaries, burned down their houses and destroyed the settlement, and then carried off the priests to Virginia. This resulted in preserving New England for English occupation; however, as a further achievement, he stopped in his voyage at the Dutch settlement on the Hudson River and forced the Dutch Governor to declare his allegiance to England.

Hardly less noteworthy was Argall's capture of Pocahontas, daughter of an Indian chief, in the previous year, in one of the villages on the Potomac River, where she had been living since the departure of Captain John Smith, whose

life she had saved from the Indians. By connivance with the chief of the tribe with whom she was living, he induced her to come on board his vessel, after which she was carried off to Jamestown. Here she was kindly treated, became reconciled to her position, and was converted to Christianity. She married John Rolfe, one of the settlers, and came to England with him in Captain Argall's ship in 1616.

In 1617 Captain Argall was appointed by the Virginia Company to be Governor of the Colony. His conduct during his administration has been the subject of much controversy. At his arrival there the Colony was in a state of prosperity. Thereafter the colonists were subjected to a rigid discipline and ruled with considerable harshness. They were compelled on pain of death to accept the authority of the Bible and attend church. On the other hand, the crops were neglected, he killed the public cattle for their hides for his private sale, and sold the tobacco belonging to the Company.

At the end of his Governorship all the public property had been disposed of, and the Colony fallen into a state of poverty. To crown this, he sent a ship to the West Indies, ostensibly for a cargo, but in reality to ravage the commerce of Spain in those waters. The vessel later sailed for the Bermudas with a cargo of slaves which he had taken in a most piratical manner. This incident led to Argall's departure from Virginia to justify his conduct, which, through the powerful influence of the Earl of Warwick, he was able to do.

In 1620 he was in command of *Golden Phoenix*, attached to the fleet in the Mediterranean. Later, he was appointed a member of the New England Royal Council, and for his services was knighted 26 June 1622, at Rochester, at which time he was described as of East Sutton, County Kent. In the following year he appears to have been in charge of Woolwich Dockyard.

Two years later, in September 1625, he was Admiral of a fleet of 24 English



and 4 Dutch ships despatched from Plymouth in search of a fleet of 18 Dunkirkers supposed to be sailing along the French coast towards Spain. His fleet did not fall in with them, but they captured and made prize a number of ships, and after a cruise of seven days returned to Plymouth. In the following month he commanded *Swiftsure*, having on board Robert, Earl of Essex, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet under Sir Edward Cecil in the unsuccessful attack on Cadiz, and failure to intercept the Spanish Plate Fleet.

He was still in command of *Swiftsure* when he died at Plymouth in January 1626. He had made a will the year before when about to sail 'on a voyage to serve his Majestie.' To each of his sisters, Lady Filmer, wife of Sir Robert Filmer, and Lady Fleetwood, he gave £20 'to buy a piece of plate of that value in memory of me,' and 'I give unto the

Master and Fraternitie of the Trinitie House a piece of plate Tenn Pounds value with my name and Arms thereupon for a remembrance of me for I am a Brother of their Companie.<sup>1</sup>

He owned a house and some land called Lowhall in the parish of Walthamstow, County Essex, to which parish he left a legacy to the poor thereof, but appears to have been living at East Sutton, Kent, at the time of his death and gave £10 to the poor of that parish. At his death he still owned land and property in Virginia. A brother-in-law was Edward Randolph, of a family associated with Virginia for several generations after.

W. R. CHAPLIN

<sup>1</sup> The silver gilt standing cup, the gift of Sir Samuel Argall, bearing his name and arms, is still in the possession of the Trinity House. It bears the hall-mark of 1613 and is now valued at £2000.

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BY ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

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FOR comments on scope of these bibliographies, see XII, 64-65 (January 1952), XII, 297 (October 1952), and XIII, 215-216 (July 1953). Abbreviations: *D&HA*, *Dock and Harbour Authority*; *MCF*, *Maine Coast Fisherman*; *S&S*, *Ships and the Sea*; *S&SR*, *Shipbuilding and Shipping Record*; *SBF*, *Steamboat Bill of Facts*; and *USNIP*, *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*.

### I. General

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- DOUGLAS, GILEAN, Calling the 'Columbia,' 3 pp. *The Beaver*, Sept. 100-foot hospital ship operated by the Columbia Coast Mission for remote communities along the British Columbia coast.
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- The Giants Have Long Arms, 4 pp. *Via Port of New York*, Oct. Functions of Merritt, Chapman & Scott floating derricks, lifting heavy objects into or out of ships. 'The heavy-hoisting facilities of the Port of New York make it possible for the entire country to import and export items of a size not otherwise commercially possible.'
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- RITSON, E. L. E., USN, Survival at Sea, 8 pp. *USNIP*, Oct. 'More serious thought should be given to the hazard, drowning or fatal exposure, which accounts for more deaths in the Navy in time of war than all other hazards combined.'
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- TAYLOR, I. C., Marine Lifesaving Apparatus, 4 pp. *S&SR*, 16 Jan., 13 Feb. 1947.

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- RODAHL, KAARE, *North: The Nature and Drama of the Polar World*, 237 pp. \$3.50. New York, Harper.
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### III. Merchant Sail and General Shipping—North America

BREWINGTON, M. V., see Sect. VIII.

BURGESS, R. H., *Seaman's Journal*, 7 pp. *Chesapeake Skipper*, Sept. Extracts from a seaman's journal written in 1848, containing an excellent description of ship handling.

COPELAND, C. H. P., The Ship 'Panay' of Salem, 2 pp. *Ships' Bulletin* (Esso), July-Aug. Engaged in carrying case oil to Manila and bringing back hemp, etc., until finally wrecked in Philippines.

DURANT, JOHN & ALICE, *Pictorial History of American Ships: On the High Seas and Inland Waters*, with an introduction by Ernest S. Dodge, 312 pp. \$10.00. New York, Barnes. Contemporary pictures with comments. Part I, New World Landfalls; Part II, The Glory Days; Part III, Ebb Tide and Flood.

GIBSON, J. F., see Sect. IV.

HYDE, B. B., New Light on the 'Ark' and the 'Dove': Representations of the Vessels in England, 8 pp. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, Sept. Discovery in an English manor house of relief pictures of the vessels that carried the first colonists to Maryland in 1633. 'These are the only known contemporary representations of any of the many vessels which brought the original settlers to the British North American colonies.'

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The Most Unwanted Cargo—The 'Edward' (Famous Ships of the Port of New York), 1 p. *Via Port of New York*, Oct. Arrival of English merchantman 'Edward' on 23 Oct. 1765 with 'stamp paper.'

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V. Fisheries and Whaling

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- BRAUN, R. H., St. George and the Battery, 6 pp. *S&S*, Nov. The New York-Staten Island ferries, the 'world's best 5c ride.'
- BRAYNARD, F. O., 'Yale' and 'Harvard,' 3 pp. *Ships' Bulletin* (Esso), March-April. Celebrated night boats, first on East Coast then on West Coast.
- BREWINGTON, M. V., see Sect. VIII.
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- *What's the Score on American Shipping*, 15 pp. Paper. Ibid.
- COTTRELL, HARRY, Dartmouth-Halifax Ferry Service from 1752 to the Present, 10 pp. *Maritime Advocate & Busy East*, Sackville, N. B., April.
- DUCKWORTH, C. L. D., & LANGMUIR, G. E., *West Coast Steamers*. 25s. Prescott, Lancashire, T. Stephenson. 'Deals with the principal passenger fleets operating from ports between Morcambe and Bristol Channel.'
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- DURANT, JOHN & ALICE, see Sect. III.
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- NETT, B. O., Rails Across the Water, 2 pp. *S&S*, Oct. Lackawanna ferries at New York; pictures with comments.
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- The Romance of the Tug, 3 pp. *Lookout*, July.
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- Transatlantic Review, 16 pp. *Ships' Bulletin* (Esso), July-Aug. 1952. Summary of Atlantic steam navigation ca. 1838-1880.

VII. Inland Navigation

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- Baton Rouge, 15 pp. *Ships' Bulletin* (Esso), July-Aug. Includes history of oil shipments from early days.
- BISHOP, A. C., Detour Through Canada, 4 pp. *Yachting*, Aug. 'A not uneventful passage from the Great Lakes to Cape Cod in a 40-foot power cruiser.'
- BOGLE, V. M., New Albany's Attachment to the Ohio River, 18 pp. *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, Sept. The town's emphasis on river shipping and boatbuilding, 1830-1860.
- BRAYNARD, F. O., The Great Lakes: Famous Passenger Ships of the Past, 5 pp. *The Log*, Sept.
- (CARSE, HENRY), Source Material of Iowa History: The Steamboat 'Charles Rogers,' 5 pp. *Iowa Jour. of Hist.*, July. Reproduction, with comments, of letter from Carse to C. C. Carpenter, ca. 1858, concerning efforts to bring a new steamer from Pittsburgh to Des Moines.
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- DEUPREE, M. C., The Importance of River Transportation to the Petroleum Industry, 5 pp. *Waterways*, Aug.

- DOWLING, E. J., The Ships of the Lake Superior Transit Company, 1872-1892, 3 pp. *SBF*, Sept. Includes list of ships, with details.
- DURANT, JOHN & ALICE, see Sect. III.
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- HENRY, J. J., & EASTON, G. H., Construction and Conversion, Ocean to Great Lakes Craft, 8 pp. *Marine News*, Sept.
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- LEWIS, B. B., The Great Lakes Bulk Fleet, 3 pp. *Marine News*, Sept.
- LINCOLN, L. J., USA, A New Frontier for Kansas City, 6 pp. *Waterways*, Sept. Potential river shipping.
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- NEU, I. D., The Building of the Sault Canal, 1852-1855, 22 pp. *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- The Pathway of the Great Lakes, 11 pp. *Waterways*, Sept. Historical sketch, including pictures of numerous early lake steamers.
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- 'Rothsay Castle' (Ships That Never Die, No. 47). *Detroit Marine Hist.*, Sept. Clyde-built blockade runner, later serving on Lake Ontario until around 1891.
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- STOLL, C. W., The Trade that will not Die, 3 pp. *SBF*, Sept. Louisville-Cincinnati service. They Go Up the Orinoco. See Sect. VI.
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## VIII. Seaports and Coastal Areas

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